The Outlook

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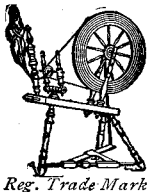

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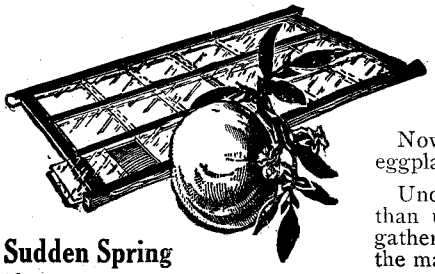

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The Outlook

FEBRUARY 5, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE PARIS FLOODS

Not since 1615 has there been such a flood at Paris as that of last week. Several miles above the city the river Marne flows into the Seine. As the united column of water passes through Paris, it is narrowed by quays, obstructed by islands, and blocked by the piers of thirty bridges. At present, from quite unusual thaws and rains, for many miles above Paris there is a flooded district miles wide. It precipitates an enormous volume of water through the narrow city channel at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour. The water is flush with the parapets of the bridges, and in some cases actually overflows them. The bridges have been closed, some embankments have fallen in, the beautiful new railway station on the Quai d'Orsay has broken down, the basement of the Palace of the Louvre and the Cathedral of Notre Dame have been flooded, the Palais Bourbon, where the Chamber of Deputies meets, has been submerged to a depth of several feet, and the Deputies are able to go to and fro only by rowboats. The American Ambassador has had to move from his superb residence in the Rue François Ier to a hotel on a higher location; indeed, a hundred thousand persons have been driven from their homes. A peculiarly unfortunate feature is the choking of the sewers. There are seven hundred miles of sewers and two rivers under Paris. One of the latter runs under the Opera-House, whose confining walls are now subject to the pressure of thousands of cubic yards of water. In many places streets have caved in, and the water and refuse have emerged. A mile back from the river on either side many fine structures are flooded, and the walls of adjoining buildings have been rendered unsafe. Fortunately for law and order, the military commander in each section into which Paris is divided holds his soldiers in constant readiness to be despatched to points of danger, and this has had its moral effect upon the populace. Moreover, the municipality has placed school buildings and barracks at the disposition of the refugees. At a hundred points the French Red Cross has already established soup kitchens. In his dual capacity of Chief Executive of the United States and President of the American Red Cross Mr. Taft has sent to President Fallières of France the following telegram:

> Is there any manner in which, through the National Red Cross or otherwise, appropriate expression could be made of the sympathetic distress with which the people and Government of the United States learn of the reported calamities which floods are causing in your beautiful and historic capital, as well as in the provinces of France? Meanwhile I offer you the sincerest sympathy and the most ardent wishes that the cause of these disasters may soon abate.

While the self-reliant and thrifty French may be depended on to combat the floods and the pestilence feared when they subside, the present is a fitting time to cement in every way the historic friendship between the two nations.

THE ENGLISH ELECTIONS

The English elections are still going on at this writing. Before last week the Unionists had made very substantial gains, but not enough to reduce the great majority of their opponents to the point of equalization. So far the Unionists have elected 263, the Liberals 260, the Laborites 40, and the Nationalists 77. As between the Unionists and the Liberals the former are likely to have a small majority; practically the two

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parties will be even. The number of Members of Parliament representing the Labor element has been materially reduced, and the people of England appear to be almost evenly divided between the Unionists and the Liberals, Scotland holding loyally, however, to the Liberals and to free trade. The next Government must therefore be a coalition Government; a combination of the Liberals and the Laborites will probably make a safe working majority over the Unionists standing by themselves, but not over the Unionists and Nationalists if the latter should choose to cast in their fortunes with the Unionists. The fate of the Ministry will therefore be at all times in the hands of the Irish Home Rulers, and the Nationalist vote will be used, as it always has been used, with no regard to the interests of either party, but with sole regard to the interests of Ireland. A very difficult situation will be created for the Prime Minister. If the Nationalists had any reason to attach themselves to the Unionists, or any love for the House of Lords, they could arrest Liberal policies. But all the concessions they have received so far have come from the Liberal party, and they are not likely to forget that the House of Lords has thrown out every Home Rule bill presented to it. On the other hand, many of them hold that the decline of Irish industries has been largely due to the free trade system, and they do not love the land tax. If the Nationalists had a large sum of money at their command, they might play fast and loose with the Liberals. But they have no money to spend on elections. They are intent on getting all they can for Ireland, and the probabilities are that working relations can be established between them and the Liberal Government; in which case the Government will be able to carry through its financial policy and to modify in some form the constitution of the House of Lords.

A NOVEL POLITICAL PLATFORM

One of the most inconspicuous figures politically, but one of the most interesting personalities in the recent election in England, was Mr. Maurice Hewlett. There is probably no man now writing in the world with whom it is more difficult to associate political methods and party traditions than the author of "The Forest Lovers" and "Open Country," a man whose genius places him outside conventional lines, and whose freshness and charm lie in the fact that he cannot be counted in any organized category of human beings made along conventional lines. Mr. Hewlett issued a platform as characteristic as any of the stories in "Little Novels of Italy." It would have been interesting to be present at a meeting of laboring men whose interests Mr. Hewlett has at heart when this extraordinary pronunciamento of an ingrained romanticist without a creed, who has lived most of the time in the age of chivalry or in the Renaissance, was read. What could Hodge make out of such a platform as this?

> What, then, gentlemen, do we want, as workmen, husbands, and fathers of families, out of the Parliament which we are going to choose?
>
> (1) That every Hodge-King should have at least one white-and-green surcoat, one gold baldrick, one suit of plain black mail, three white palfreys, and a milch cow.
>
> (2) That no laborers' cottages shall henceforth be builded without having each a buttery hatch, an outer bailey, and a phalanstery hung with black arras.
>
> (3) That all and sundry, irrespective of social status, shall be christened by names likely to voice their inherent claims to natural respect. I believe that access to a romantic nomenclature is absolutely necessary to every honest and able member of the State. Names like Mellifont, Pietosa, Malise, Spiridion, Osric, and Fulk should no longer be the monopoly of orgulous lordlings, but be available to every workingman, Heaven help us, like you and me.
>
> (4) That heraldry should be a compulsory subject in all provided schools.
>
> . . . All this vaporing and stressful blustering about Empire and All-Red maps is the most ineffable Panjandrumblather that was ever exuded from the limbo of a pseudo-Goliardic gallimaufry. The only All-Red color that counts is the bloom of healthy blood in the ruddy cheeks of some dark woodland elf.

THE TARIFF WAR WITH GERMANY

While Great Britain has been suffering from a naval "war scare," with Germany as her prospective antagonist, a good deal of disturbance has been created in the United States by "scare" headlines in the newspapers prophesying a tariff war between Germany and this country. Latest despatches from Wash-

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ington indicate that this war has been averted and that the two countries will probably continue to carry on their trade relations under present conditions. Germany will not raise her tariff against this country on February 7, and the President will not therefore be compelled to apply against Germany on April 1 the maximum penalty of twenty-five per cent *ad valorem* provided in the Payne Law. The main point of commercial irritation between Germany and the United States is in the meat business. Germany has very stringent inspection and regulation of American imported meats and cattle, which amount practically to prohibition. These regulations profess to be made upon grounds of sanitation and health. As a matter of fact, they are probably established through the influence of the German Agrarian party, which, like the English squirearchy, wishes to exclude foreign food products in order to enhance the value of agricultural property. Like most petty wars, however, the whole controversy is somewhat amusing to the impartial observer. The real dyed-in-the-wool American protectionist in the bottom of his heart wants all foreign products and manufactures that compete with his own interest excluded. He would be almost willing to pay an income tax to supplement depleted customs revenues in order to accomplish his object. His indignation at Germany for doing this very same thing seems, therefore, a little inconsistent. Moreover, American producers of meat products say that the prevailing high prices against which the entire country is trying to go on strike are largely due to the fact that the demand for meat products is very much greater than the supply. If this is so, why should we endeavor to create a great German market for American meats? It is time enough to seek a foreign market when the American supply becomes greater than the American demand. The whole controversy with Germany on this tariff question illustrates the difficulties of trying to do international trade after the manner of a cross-country hurdle race. Hurdle and fence jumping are very good sport for the expert horseman, but the man who desires to get as much horse power as possible out of his animals in hauling produce to market seeks the smoothest and most level road. Tariff hurdles develop some very expert jumpers, but they do not promote international trade.

THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT INVESTIGATION

The Congressional investigation which is generally but not accurately described by the title just given began on Wednesday of last week before the Joint Committee of the two houses of Congress. The first witness heard by the Committee was Mr. Louis R. Glavis, whose charges against the conduct of the Interior Department with reference to the Cunningham claims and other matters were not approved by President Taft, and resulted in the dismissal of Mr. Glavis from the public service. Mr. Glavis was represented before the Committee by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, whose name is known to our readers in connection with the Savings Bank Insurance Law of Massachusetts and other efforts in behalf of the public welfare. It became evident at the outset that, as there are no charges officially formulated against any one, and as the Congressional Committee is one of investigation rather than of a judicial kind, it is of importance that counsel for all the persons officially concerned with the matter should be given free privileges in outlining the views and the facts their clients wish to present. Thus, Mr. Brandeis was called upon by the Committee at once to state just what it was sought to establish by Mr. Glavis's testimony; among other things, he asserted that Mr. Ballinger, as Land Commissioner, had acquired certain knowledge about the claims which made it improper for him later to appear as counsel for the claimants, and, while no charges of corruption were made against Mr. Ballinger, it was declared that he had acted improperly in ordering certain claims to patent hurriedly and without giving Mr. Glavis a chance to investigate fully, or in other ways following up accusations which had been made. It is too early to attempt to summarize the evidence presented to the Committee. It should, however, at the very opening of the case, be thoroughly understood that the country at large will not be satisfied with a perfunctory or incomplete in-

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vestigation. The matter is complicated, but a full and intelligent exposition of the whole subject, from beginning to end, to be followed by a final and conclusive settlement, will be demanded by the public, no matter where it may lead or where the censure for misconduct, if any is deserved, is placed.

REAL DEBATING IN THE HOUSE

In spite of its size and in spite of the much-criticised rules, the House of Representatives can become, at times, a body of real debaters. This has been illustrated several times in the last few weeks. There was a real debate last week over the Mann bill for the suppression of the White Slave traffic. The opposition to this bill was chiefly based on the Constitutional ground that such a traffic was not really inter-State commerce, in the first place, and, in the second place, that an attempt of the Federal Government to regulate the morals of the people was an invasion of the police power reserved to the States. The charge was furthermore made by Mr. Keifer, of Ohio, that this bill was but an example of the recklessness of Congress in passing measures clearly unconstitutional, and putting the onus of declaring them unconstitutional upon the Supreme Court. The advocates of the bill, like all successful defendants, entered the lists as aggressors. They not only defended the constitutionality of the bill, on the grounds that the regulation of inter-State and foreign commerce was a purely Federal function, that this was clearly inter-State commerce, and that the Court had decided, as in the lottery case, the right of Congress to prohibit such commerce as well as to regulate it, when it involved public morals, but they also flatly asserted that this bill, so far from violating the Constitution, provided a means for dealing with an evil with which the Constitution expressly prohibited the States from dealing. These speeches in defense of the bill were of a high order, and were worthy examples of the best kind of parliamentary debating. Another debate of significance was in connection with the charges brought against the Immigration Commission and their refutation by a member of that Commission. Mr. Macon, a Democratic Representative from Arkansas, accused the Immigration Commission of engaging in a junket, of wasting the people's money, and of employing incompetent people for political reasons. His accusations were specific and involved an attack upon the integrity of several men. On a question of personal privilege, Representative Bennet arose the next day, and, with well-justified indignation, which was admirably controlled, he specifically, and in order, refuted these groundless charges. He showed clearly and unmistakably that Mr. Macon had peddled these slanders on the floor of the House without taking the trouble to examine even public printed documents, and he named as the source of Mr. Macon's misinformation a man by the name of Patten, the Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. Mr. Macon was unmanly enough to take refuge in the excuse that he supposed Mr. Patten was telling the truth; that it was simply a question of veracity between Mr. Patten and Mr. Bennet, and that Mr. Bennet's quarrel was really with Mr. Patten and not with himself. It is astonishing that men with standing enough in a community to be elected to the House of Representatives should act as irresponsibly as Mr. Macon has acted as soon as they are in a position where they cannot legally be called to account for their statements on the floor of the House. This incident, however, served one good purpose: it called forth a speech of uncommon force, and it drew attention to the great public service that the members of the Commission have rendered without adequate material reward. When Mr. Macon declared that he could not believe, as Mr. Bennet asserted, that one member of the Commission had given up a permanent salary of $10,000 a year to take a temporary salary of $7,500, because he believed that no man would do such a thing unless he were a fool or a knave, he revealed only his own incapacity to comprehend the primary elements of public spirit. The American people do not sufficiently realize how many men there are in the public service who are working without adequate remuneration, and with no real reward except the satisfaction of defeating evil and promoting good.

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CRIMINAL LIBEL AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The decision of Judge Hough in the United States Circuit Court of New York last week in the cases charging the New York "World" with libel against Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Charles P. Taft, Douglas Robinson, and W. N. Cromwell dealt solely with the question of jurisdiction, and did not touch upon the merits of the charges. Readers will remember that the plain and direct intimation of the "World" was that these men had connived at a corrupt bargain in connection with the sale to the United States of the Panama Canal rights and property owned by the French Panama Company. There was absolutely no truth or semblance of truth in the slander, and no one to-day pretends that there was. What is more, the "World" had been plainly warned of the falsehood and the character of those who told it. If ever there was a case of inexcusable libel, this was such a case. It was, moreover, in essence, if not in form, an attack upon the Government, and for this reason the last Administration held it to be right and proper that measures for the punishment of the offenders should be instituted in the Federal courts. The law advisers of the Government held that the offense could be criminally prosecuted in Federal courts because the libel was technically published in Washington and West Point, for instance, as well as in New York City, the home office of the "World." In the decision regarding the Indianapolis "News" rendered in Indiana a few months ago and reported in The Outlook, it was held that the defendant could not be removed to Washington for trial; in the decision of last week it was held that the indictment should have been sought in a State court rather than a Federal court. The reader will, of course, understand that this was not a suit for damages brought by individuals, but a criminal proceeding. Judge Hough holds that since the offense was committed in other parts of New York as well as in United States reservations within New York State, the State courts have primary jurisdiction, and that the statutes do not intend that the jurisdiction of the United States over reservations within the State should be exercised in cases where the State obviously has primary jurisdiction. He expressed, however, his feeling that this point should be passed on finally by the United States Supreme Court, and stated his wish that such an opinion might be sought promptly. All this, it will be seen, is a question of the exact and technically correct methods of prosecuting the offenders. The persons injured, even if the Supreme Court sustains Judge Hough, retain not only their right to bring civil suits for damages, but their right to lay the matter before a New York Grand Jury and ask for indictments. Liberty of the press does not mean freedom from criminal responsibility. The law does not prevent in advance the free publishing of news and comment, but if a newspaper sees fit to smirch private character and steal reputation, it is as open to prosecution and punishment as if it stole property.

A STANDARD OF PURITY FOR DRUGS

An energetic effort is now being made to induce Congress to amend the Pure Food and Drugs Law so that there may be a single, official, and complete authority as to the standard for drugs. An amendment to the law was introduced in the House of Representatives about a month ago by Mr. Coudrey, of Missouri. Probably not one layman in ten has the least idea of how at present any standard for drugs is established, although all would, without argument, admit that there should be some definite standard. The danger, it is said, is not merely of the substitution of one drug for another, which is an easily recognized offense, but also in the use of inert and diluted drugs. The Pure Food and Drugs Law makes the United States Pharmacopœia the authority. Now, that valuable work is official only in a limited sense. It is not prepared under the direct authority of the United States, but is revised every ten years by a National convention made up of delegates from incorporated colleges of medicine and pharmacy, from the two general associations known as the American Medical Association and the American Pharmaceutical Association, together with delegates appointed by the three United States Surgeons-General. Such a convention will be held this year, and a new edition of the

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work will appear in three or four years. The law requires that any drug sold under the name given it in the United States Pharmacopœia must conform to the standard fixed in that book, but there is also a peculiar provision in a separate section by which a drug bearing a name in the Pharmacopœia, but *branded* to show a different standard of strength, quality, or purity, shall not be regarded as adulterated if it conforms to its declared standard. This sounds like an element of serious danger, but defenders of the present system declare that no druggist in filling a prescription would use other than extracts from the Pharmacopæial standard. It is stated by those who demand reform that a very large number of drugs which are daily prescribed by physicians do not appear in the Pharmacopœia at all. The editor of the "American Druggist," on the other hand, says that no pharmacopœia attempts to include all drugs, that ours has more than those of Germany and Great Britain, and that for such a work to attempt to standardize all drugs would be an utterly hopeless task. It is said, also, that under the Pure Food and Drugs Law other safeguards are provided than those of the Pharmacopœia. What is proposed in the Coudrey bill is that the United States itself shall hereafter edit the Pharmacopœia, and shall publish a revision every year. Whether this is a practical remedy or not is a matter to be determined after full discussion. It seems to us that before changing the present system Congress should ascertain the opinion of the great medical associations of the country as to the best method of standardizing drugs. It is quite possible that the present law should be changed, but this should not be done without expert opinion. No one believes that the Pure Food and Drugs Law is perfect in its present form, although it has set in motion a National reform of the utmost importance.

A YEAR OF SAVINGS BANK INSURANCE

Two years ago there was outlined in The Outlook the plan of savings bank insurance in the form in which the experiment was to be tried in Massachusetts. From time to time we have reported the progress of the plan, and as the first year of actual operation ended last October and the reports of what has been done are now available, it is worth while to ask what has been actually accomplished by this form of social effort to provide people of small earning capacity with sound insurance at a low cost and without any profit to others than themselves. Only two savings banks have actually carried on the plan—the Brockton People's Savings Bank and the Whitman Savings Bank—but there have been many unpaid agencies which have acted for these two savings banks. The law forbids the savings banks to act through agents who present the subject through house-to-house solicitation and afterwards collect premiums from house to house as do those of the large industrial insurance companies. But in place of this the work has been aided by the unpaid agencies referred to above, including some large commercial and manufacturing companies and some social institutions and settlements. The two banks wrote during the year 2,521 policies, averaging $393.79, and amounting to about a million dollars of insurance. After meeting all legal claims, setting aside the full legal reserve, and paying interest on the special guarantee fund required by law for this form of insurance, the banks had left a surplus from which they paid a dividend of eight and one-third per cent to all holders of the monthly premium policies. It should be explained, perhaps, that this so-called dividend, like the "dividends" of the large regular companies, might more properly be called a return of unused premium money; that is to say, the amount of the premium fixed in advance is (in order to provide for emergencies and maximum possible cost) practically always larger than is needed to meet the cost of insurance, and the part of the premium which turns out not actually to be used may be returned to the policy-holder under the name of dividend. It is believed by those who have followed the operation of the savings bank system that this so-called dividend of eight and one-third per cent will be greatly increased in the future. The result for the year finished in October actually is that the rate of premium paid by the savings bank policy-holder has been twenty-two per

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cent less than that of the large industrial companies. This, we need hardly point out, is a fine showing, and is made possible chiefly by the fact that in the savings bank insurance method there are no stockholders to receive profits. The machinery, including the services of the State Actuary and Medical Director, is without cost to the individual policy-holder, and the whole system is founded on the idea that insurance for the poor is a social need which should be made as inexpensive as possible. But even more important than the reduction of cost to the actual policy-holder has been the reformatory effect of the savings bank insurance movement on the industrial companies. We are informed that the notoriously excessive rates for what are called industrial policies have been reduced an average of about twenty per cent since the savings bank plan was authorized by law; and this means, or soon will mean, an annual saving to the working people of Massachusetts of from a million to a million and a half of dollars. Moreover, the working people of the country at large have benefited, because this reduction of rate by the industrial insurance companies has, of necessity, spread from Massachusetts the country over. Other concessions of great value have been made by the leading industrial companies, such as the modification of a former provision that in case of death within six months after a policy was taken out only one-fourth of its face value would be paid, and in case of death within the second six months only one-half would be paid. This provision added enormously to the real cost of the policies, and undoubtedly it has been due to the savings bank insurance movement that a change for the better has been made. It is said that the industrial companies themselves now claim to have accepted the principle on which savings bank insurance rests; namely, that the working people should be served in respect to life insurance by a social institution rather than by an exploiting business. Altogether the record of what has been accomplished by the savings bank insurance movement, since it was first proposed by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, something over three years ago, has been positive and considerable. The possibilities for the future are great, and although the plan must still be regarded as being in an experimental stage, it has now a record both of direct and indirect benefits rendered to that class of the community who, in the past, have unquestionably paid for provision through insurance for their families a rate which is extravagant and excessive as compared with that paid by their more prosperous fellow-citizens.

PROFESSOR MEYER AT HARVARD

The presentation of a loving-cup to Professor Eduard Meyer, of the University of Berlin, on the eve of his departure from Harvard University, was a substantial token of the esteem in which this latest visiting professor from Germany is held by the students to whom he has lectured during the academic half-year just closed. It is no exaggeration to say that no other of the eminent teachers from abroad who have visited Harvard since the system of professorial interchange was established some years ago has made so profound an impression both on the members of the faculty and on the student body. The reputation for scholarship which Professor Meyer made enduring by his monumental work on "The History of Antiquity," and which led Professor Lowell, when conferring on him last fall the honorary degree of Litt.D., to refer to him as "a classical historian unsurpassed by living man," naturally attracted many students to the courses he offered. These students found in him not only a scholar of the first order, but a teacher in the truest sense of the term, filled with enthusiasm for as well as knowledge of his subject, and capable of inspiring the same enthusiasm in those who studied under him. He offered three courses, one on the history and monuments of the Ancient East, one on the history of the Ancient World, and a research course in ancient history for advanced students. All these courses he gave in English, a welcome innovation, and one course, that on the history and monuments of the Ancient East, was open, without charge, to the public. Besides these purely academic activities, Professor Meyer entered freely into the undergraduate life, giving numerous informal talks to depart-

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mental clubs, and invariably leaving on his hearers' minds the impress of a vigorous, stimulating, and really fascinating personality. A specialist in ancient history, he showed himself also a master of history in other fields than that which he has made pre-eminently his own. Perhaps the most striking revelation of this was in an address to the Harvard History Club, in which Professor Meyer took as his subject the working out of the "imperial idea" from antiquity to modern times, and, without the aid of a single note, virtually reviewed in an hour and fifty minutes the history of the civilized world, his review being as interesting as it was informative. In fact, the consensus of opinion at Harvard is that not the least of Professor Meyer's services to the University has been his remarkable demonstration of the truth that profound erudition and the ability to entertain may go hand in hand. Professor Meyer is now traveling through the States of the East, Middle West, and South, for the purpose both of seeing the country and of giving lectures at Columbia, Princeton, Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, and other educational centers.

THE PHILLIPS BROOKS STATUE

The unveiling of the Saint-Gaudens statue of Bishop Phillips Brooks on the grounds of Trinity Church, Boston, was a most interesting occasion, and the memorial is an original and striking piece of work. The services of presentation and dedication were held in the great church, which was crowded by a congregation representing almost every shade of Christian faith, brought together by respect for one of the great prophets of that faith and one of the most ardent and noble interpreters of true catholicity. The services were conducted by Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, and within the chancel of the church were gathered Bishop McVickar, of Rhode Island, two bishops of the Methodist Church, representatives of the Congregationalists, the Universalists, the Swedenborgians, the Syrian Catholic Church, the Unitarians, and the Baptists, constituting for the moment an impressive realization of the reunion of Christendom. The relatives of Bishop Brooks, his classmates, the widow and son of the sculptor, and a large number of invited guests of distinction were also present. The services were notable for simplicity and dignity, beginning with the great processional hymn, "O God, our help in ages past," followed by a collect written for the occasion, and another hymn, "Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah." Major Henry L. Higginson, of the Citizens' Committee, a classmate of Bishop Brooks, made the address of presentation, which included a brief but affecting story of the great preacher's life. An address of acceptance by the rector of Trinity, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Mann, followed, and this in turn was succeeded by a hymn written by Bishop Brooks, and so characteristic of him that readers of The Outlook will be glad to see it again:

"The while I listened came a word—
I knew not whence, I could not see,
But when my waiting spirit heard,
I cried, 'Lord, here am I, send me!'

For in that word was all contained—
The Master's wish, the servant's joy,
Worth of the prize to be attained,
And sweetness of the time's employ.

I turned and went—along the way
That word was food and air and light;
I feasted on it all the day,
And rested on it all the night.

I wondered; but when soon I came
To where the word complete must be,
I called my wonder by its name;
For lo! the word I sought was He."

And then, at the close of the benediction, to the triumphant strains of the recessional "For all the Saints who from their labors rest," the congregation passed out of the church in the storm, and the impressive memorial was uncovered. It was the last work done by Mr. Saint-Gaudens, and completed during the months when the hand of death was on him. It represents the great preacher in his characteristic attitude, his left hand resting on a lectern, the right arm extended in a gesture familiar to his old hearers. The figure is of heroic size, and behind it stands the figure of Christ, elevated above the preacher, and with his hand resting on the preacher's shoulder. This treatment of the subject, highly

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characteristic of Mr. Saint-Gaudens's later work, and the symbolism of inspiration which it conveys, reveal the spirit in which he dealt with his opportunity.

SOUTHERN BOYS' CORN CLUBS

The recent presentation of diplomas of merit to four Southern boys by Secretary James Wilson, of the United States Department of Agriculture, at Washington, has brought into prominence a work which has been going on quietly for some time past. These four boys are members of one of the Boys' Corn Clubs carried on by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, of the Farmers' Co-operative Demonstration Work of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture. The Farmers' Co-operative Demonstration Work is work carried on among the Southern farmers, and it enables the farmer to demonstrate to himself by actual trial that the better methods of cultivation recommended will prove an economic success. He does all the work and furnishes the land and the seed, while the Department simply furnishes the directing agent and the knowledge. The result has been an unqualified success wherever the directions were followed. Yields have been increased two, three, and even four times, and a vision of the possibilities of farming opened to the farmer himself and those about him. Now Dr. Knapp has turned his attention to the farmer boy. The whole movement proceeds upon a few simple principles with a few plain objects in view. Dr. Knapp believes that it is worth while to get a boy to form a good purpose and to work persistently toward its accomplishment. If a number of boys can be induced to strive for the same goal, in a spirit of friendly rivalry, it adds zest to the lesson to be taught, stimulates observation, study, industry, and economy, and the resultant good is multiplied many times. The plan, briefly outlined, is this: Generally the work is done by co-operation between the agents of the Farmers' Co-operative Demonstration Work and the school authorities of the county and State. The county is usually organized by interesting the County Superintendent of Public Education, who enlists the teachers in the work, and so, through the co-operation of the Superintendent, the teacher, and the agent of the Department at Washington, and also the parent of the boy, the boys of the school are organized into a Corn Club. Each boy agrees to plant and cultivate an acre of corn, generally on land furnished by his father. Advice as to method of cultivation, selection of seed, and planting, is furnished by the Department at Washington. Generally, the first year the seed is furnished to the boys from some well-established variety and from well-tested and selected seed, the funds for its purchase being often subscribed by local bankers, business men, and friends generally. After the first year the boy is urged and instructed to select his own seed in accordance with approved modern methods of seed selection. One of the principal and most emphasized rules is that the boy must follow some plan of culture and must agree to read the printed instructions on corn-growing sent out from the Department, which are written as part of the Farmers' Co-operative Demonstration Work by Dr. Knapp. No trouble at all has been experienced in getting local bankers, merchants, school authorities, and private individuals to offer different prizes in the contest which results. Where there is a county fair, the contest in the county is held at the fair, otherwise at the county seat on a day selected in the fall. It is the plan to have the best exhibits at the county contest, the winners of the prizes there, exhibit at the State Fair, and thus determine who has done the best in the State. At every exhibit, whether in the local school, at the county fair, or at the State fair, talks on farming and corn judging and seed selection are given by experts from the Department or by local farmers.

EXTENDING THE PLAN

In 1909 Dr. Knapp personally offered a prize of a trip to Washington to the boy winning the prize in the State contest in the State of Mississippi; the State Bankers' Association of Arkansas offered the same prize in that State, and enterprising citizens of Virginia and South Carolina duplicated the offer in those States. The winners of the prizes in these four States came to Washington in December, 1909,

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and spent a week at the Nation's capital city, where Secretary Wilson presented them with certificates of merit at his office on December 14. In a brief address to the boys the Secretary said that they and boys like them are the only hope of the Nation for continued prosperity and greatness. He commended their energy, and the energy and spirit of the people of the South in their growing prosperity, both in manufacturing industries and in agriculture; he told them that these diplomas were unique, that no other boys had ever before received similar recognition of merit in agriculture, and that nothing that he had done since he had been Secretary of Agriculture had given him more pleasure than this presentation. There were approximately twelve thousand boys in the clubs last year under the direct supervision and instruction of Dr. Knapp's office. Of course there were some clubs in the South not directly affiliated with his organization which were doing good work. The coming year it is expected that there will be 35,000 in these clubs, and that all will be directly affiliated. Are there not great possibilities in the movement? A great deal is being said upon the subject of "country life" and the fact that the best boys are leaving the farm. There are three essential things which must be demonstrated to the average bright American farm boy to make him stay on the farm: first, that there are possibilities for as great or greater income on the farm, with the expenditure of the same amount of energy and brain power, as in the pursuits which the city offers; second, that farm life may be made attractive and robbed of its old-time drudgery; and, third, that the honors to be attained by the farmer and the recognition given him are as great as those of the city. It is to the first of these propositions that Dr. Knapp is directing his energy and thought. With increased yield and the practice of a fair amount of business method, a man on the farm can have such an income that the other two may be added to the first. Civilization costs something, and in order to raise a man in the scale of civilization you must increase his earning power. The lesson of the possibilities of yield, the possibilities of economy, the possibilities of income from the tilling of the soil, is the lesson sought to be impressed through the Boys' Corn Clubs, and with this comes the wonderful stimulation of an interest in the things which concern the farm and the making of them a source of interest to the boy.

THE PAULIST FATHERS' JUBILEE

Last week occurred the Paulist Fathers' "Golden Jubilee," the fiftieth anniversary of their establishment. There are a number of Roman Catholic orders historically of more importance, but none of more importance in American latter-day religious development. In colonial times the heroic work of the Jesuits must ever be a peculiarly picturesque and impressive feature of our history. In contrast with that work the Paulist endeavor has been less striking, but, we believe, none the less efficacious. The birthplace of the Paulist Fathers was New York City, and there it was that last week's celebration was held in the presence of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate, and Archbishop Farley. The Paulist Community—or, to quote its longer name, the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle—was established in 1858, and received the approbation of Archbishop Hughes. The founders were Isaac T. Hecker, Clarence A. Walworth, Augustine F. Hewit, George Deshon, and Francis A. Baker. They were originally members of the Redemptorist order. Pope Pius IX released them from it, and authorized them to form a new body to be devoted in a special manner to American missionary work. On the principle that there is no zealot like a convert, these men were certainly the ones to undertake the work of converting Protestants to Roman Catholicism, for all of the five founders had themselves been converts. But they were patriots as well as priests, and their work was also to develop citizens. All five were men of American birth and thoroughly imbued with the American spirit. Of the five, Father Hecker was easily leader. He was then forty years old. His father was a thrifty brass founder in Hester Street, New York City, and Isaac was born in Christie Street, hard by. In 1843 Isaac was a member of the famous

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Brook Farm Transcendentalist Community, in contact with Emerson, Hawthorne, Curtis, Parker, Ripley, and Dana. Here Hecker gained his first idea of the common life which he, as first Superior of a new religious community, was to put into effect. He entered the Roman Catholic Church and the Redemptorist order. When he started his new order, his brother George furnished much of the money to buy a site for the headquarters. The corner of Fifty-ninth Street and Columbus Avenue was chosen. At that time the site was practically in the country. Columbus Avenue was not opened, nor was Sixtieth Street. Archbishop Hughes laid the corner-stone of the structure which still stands, though the work has much outgrown its bounds. Alongside there is now the Church of the Paulist Fathers, the second largest church in America, an impressive Romanesque structure recalling the basilica type perhaps more than does any other edifice in New York. The interior scheme of decoration is being carried out on an elaborate scale. It includes some of Mr. John La Farge's best work, both in stained glass and mural medallions, "The Angel of the Sun" and "The Angel of the Moon," painted for wall spaces on the north and south sides of the apse; for the latter the Architects' League awarded a medal to Mr. La Farge last year. The main altar was designed by the late Stanford White. Any account of the Paulist Fathers should mention, first, the "Catholic World," a monthly magazine established by Father Hecker in 1865, and now the leading Roman Catholic monthly in this country; and, second, the Columbus Press, a printing-house founded by the Paulists, which has published several hundred books and pamphlets. The present Superior of the order is the Rev. John Hughes. The Paulists number sixty-three priests and twenty-seven novices. Besides the New York City headquarters they have houses in Chicago, San Francisco, Winchester, Tennessee, and Austin, Texas. The Paulist work has been peculiarly productive of harmony in the relations between Roman Catholics and the Republic, and has emphasized with equal voice the spiritual force of a great communion together with sound morals and patriotic citizenship.

THE ITALIAN INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

As The Outlook announced last July, there is to be in 1911 an International Exposition in Italy to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of Rome as the national capital. It is expected to be the most important exhibition held in Europe since 1900. It will be divided into two great departments: one, devoted to manufactures and commerce, to be established in Turin, and the other, devoted to art and history, to be established in Rome. The prospectus of no exposition, so far as we know, has ever interpreted art so broadly. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and the drama are all to be represented. The ground set apart for the exhibition lies just outside the walls of Rome, close to the Villa Borghese. A central Italian building is to be surrounded by smaller pavilions of the various nations. The Italian Government has been generous in its offers of prizes. The first prizes in painting and sculpture are no less than $10,000 each. The prizes in architecture are particularly interesting, as they are for three types of dwellings, which must be finished and furnished as if for occupancy. The first type of house would provide for a luxurious home, the next would be a house representative of the middle class, and the third a house for poorer folk. The Italian Government's invitation to the nations to co-operate was gladly accepted, and all the Great Powers (except the United States) and many of the smaller states signified their intention of participating officially, and made the appropriations necessary for the building of their pavilions. It seems almost incredible that America's share in the enterprise should still remain undetermined. Acting upon the appeals of friends of art and promoters of commerce, President Taft last week sent a special Message to Congress urging the immediate appropriation of $130,000 for adequate representation of this country at Rome and Turin. Our participation would involve compensation to two commissioners, one for each exposition, the cost of erecting suitable Government buildings, the preparation of Government exhibits, and the necessary expenses of transportation to and fro. The preparation is none too large, indeed

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it is in contrast with the $170,000 appropriated by the Italian Government for its representation at our St. Louis Exposition. Visitors may remember the Italian Pavilion there as one of the most artistic and beautiful buildings on the grounds; it was constructed of Roman travertine stone, and ornamented with bronze and marble sculptures. In his recommendation to the President, Secretary Knox recalls this, and also the large Italian displays in the departments of art, education, agriculture, and manufactures at that Exposition. Certainly at the Roman Exhibition, where the art of other countries is to be particularly well represented, the progress of American art should find a place. At the Turin Exposition our representation is also desirable if we "mean business" by our latter-day policy of trade expansion abroad. As President Taft says in his Message, an exposition of the comprehensive character of that contemplated at Turin is not only an instructive agency in setting forth the world's industrial development, but is also an important instrumentality in the advancement of commercial relations.

GIFFORD PINCHOT

We congratulate the country on the election of Mr. Gifford Pinchot to the Presidency of the National Conservation Association. The Association could have found no one so well qualified to carry on the work which its retiring President, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, so well began.

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or the propriety of Mr. Pinchot's famous letter to Senator Dolliver, it has not caused any loss of esteem for him as an efficent public officer and a wholly unselfish public servant. He never had more than he has to-day the confidence of the country. And it is not improbable that his transference from the office of Chief Forester to that of President of the National Conservation Association may enhance his usefulness. Hitherto he has been rendering a double service to his country. As Chief Forester he has been a skillful and efficient administrator of an important Bureau of the Government. As lecturer, orator, and writer he has been at once a public teacher and a public reformer. Henceforth this double duty will be divided. The work of administration will be intrusted to his personal friend, the expert head of the Pinchot School of Forestry at Yale, while he will be free to devote his time and talents to the work of arousing and instructing the public. And the public needs both arousing and instructing.

Up to the beginning of this century the American people have been living like a young man who has just come into the possession of a great fortune, and who makes it his business to see how rapidly he can spend it. We have been living on our capital. Our problem has been to see how fast we could get the coal out of our hills and cut the forests off from them; how quickly we could exhaust our soil and clog and poison our rivers. About ten years ago Mr. Roosevelt spoke to the country on this subject, and the country listened. Mr. James J. Hill followed Mr. Roosevelt and added the weight of a business man's counsel to that of the publicist. Other voices chimed in, not less significant—not least among them that of Sir Horace Plunkett, the great Irish agricultural reformer. In this movement Mr. Pinchot was a pioneer. We are inclined to think that he was *the* pioneer. If we are not mistaken, he was the one who first urged on the attention of Mr. Roosevelt the waste of our National resources and the consequent peril to the country; we believe that Sir Horace Plunkett was the second. But questions of priority are always difficult to settle. Whether or not Mr. Pinchot was first in time, he has been first in importance among the special leaders in this movement for the conservation of our forests. And the work for which his devotion, his personal magnetism, and the affection and esteem which he deserves and has secured combine to fit him still greatly needs to be done.

Of most immediate importance is National action. There are still left large areas of forest land which belong to the Nation, and which Congress can by appropriate legislation preserve for the Nation. But Congress will act only in obedience to a public demand. It will not reverse, it will hardly even modify, the National practice of individual ownership and unregulated cutting unless the people

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ask for a change. The President has intimated that he can make no change in the policy of the Government without orders from Congress; Congress will make no change without orders from the people. And special interests, enforced by an unintelligent traditionalism and a not unintelligent, though we think mistaken, fear of Federal centralization, are combined in an effort to let bad enough alone. If we are not careful, the parable of the New Testament will be enacted in a slightly changed form: while the good man of the house is sleeping, the enemy will cut down all his forest trees.

But if this is the matter of the most immediate importance, it is not the matter of the greatest ultimate importance. Mr. Pinchot himself has told the Nation that "forests privately owned cover three-fourths of the area and contain four-fifths of the standing timber. The timber privately owned is not only four times that publicly owned, but is now generally more valuable." It is in the forests owned by the public that, thanks to Mr. Pinchot, the work of conservation has made progress. In this respect the Nation is in advance of private enterprise. "Forestry is now practiced in seventy per cent of the forests publicly owned and in less than one per cent of the forests privately owned." To introduce the practice of forestry into these private forests is as much a National problem as to continue the practice of forestry in the National forests. And if this is to be done, there is still a great change needed in public opinion. This needed change is twofold.

The people need to realize the right of the State governments to regulate the cutting of timber in their privately owned forests. "What's mine is my own and I can do what I like with it," is a popular motto in America, but it is not true. Most of the States in the Union have game laws. Men are not allowed to catch fish under a certain size in the brooks that run through their own land, nor lobsters under a certain size in the bays and inlets that adjoin their shores, nor to kill game in their own woods except at certain specified seasons of the year. But the preservation of our forests is far more important to the public welfare than the preservation of game. And the courts have accordingly held that the State has a right to regulate the cutting of timber by the owner on his own land. Such legislation, says the Supreme Court of Maine, "would be within the legislative power and would not operate as a taking of private property for which compensation must be made." But it is not enough that the people possess this power; they must know that they possess it and must exercise it. There is yet a great deal of work to be done before they will possess either the necessary knowledge or the necessary will. And there is no man in the country so well fitted to do this work as Mr. Pinchot.

But still more important are the conversion and the instruction of the owners of timber land. There is something better to be done with our forests than to see how rapidly an itinerant sawmill can cut the trees down and how quickly men and machinery, working ten or twelve hours a day, can grind them up into wood-pulp, or cut them up into firewood, or saw them up into timber. There are a great many men in America who "hold a penny so close to their eye that they cannot see a dollar at arm's length." Such men have yet to learn that a forest is more profitable if trees are treated as a crop to be cultivated than as débris to be removed. Our woodmen need to learn a lesson from the meat packers, in whose establishments, it is said, nothing is wasted. The waste in the remorseless destruction of our forests is appalling. No forester wishes to prohibit all cutting. Even where a forest is to be preserved for a park, properly directed cutting of underbrush is necessary; for underbrush is the kindling-wood which makes the destructive forest fires. What is wanted is common sense applied in the use of our forests, where it has been eminently lacking. We should get rich faster if we were not in such great haste to get rich.

In leading this great reform, which is moral and intellectual as well as economic, Mr. Pinchot will not lack followers. The Outlook asks for him the co-operation of the press of America and pledges to him its own support.

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HIGH PRICES

No one objects to high prices when he gets them; he objects only when he pays them. The wage-earner makes no complaint of high wages, it is his employer who objects; the butcher does not grumble because he gets five cents a pound more for beef, it is the housekeeper who grumbles. No milliner or dressmaker thinks her bill too big; the complaint comes from the husband who pays it.

High prices is a purely relative term. If all prices went up together, no one would have reason to complain. But they do not go up together. And no one wants them to go up together. We all want high prices for what we have to sell, and low prices for what we have to buy. And when we get low prices for what we have to sell and high prices for what we have to buy, we are naïvely discontented. For that discontent there is only one remedy: a general comprehension of the truth that high prices and general prosperity always go together, and always must. For prosperity is getting high prices for our products. And we cannot get high prices unless somebody pays high prices. What the community really needs is not higher prices or lower prices, but steadier prices and more equably distributed prices. What is needed is that we shall all go up and all go down together, so that what every man gets and every man gives will be adjusted in such a way as to make comfortable living possible for all.

There are certain conditions which are co-operating to make prices unsteady, and their mutual adjustment inequitable.

The money of the world is gold and promises to pay gold. The discovery of gold in Alaska and in South Africa has greatly increased the supply. When an individual has plenty of money, he is more ready to pay high prices than when he is short. When the world has plenty of money, the world is more ready to pay high prices than when the world is short. The world just now has plenty of money, so that it pays high prices. Gold is on one end of the scales, prices on the other end. Add to the gold and the gold goes down and the prices go up—automatically. If we only had greenbacks printed in quantities to suit Congress, prices would take an aeroplane flight. A few weeks before the fall of Richmond a pair of boots was sold in that city for seventy-five dollars Confederate money. That was simply because Confederate money was more plentiful than boots.

The increase of gold is a world-wide cause for increase in prices; but there are other causes distinctively American. We are a spendthrift Nation, and have been spending our resources as though they would last forever. But they are not lasting forever. As the demand continues and the supply diminishes, prices go up. By our protective system we have been enticing men from the field to the factory. Our tariff has offered prizes to those who would leave the farm and come to town. True, these prizes are lottery prizes; not every one draws a prize. Not every freight-handler becomes a James J. Hill, not every clerk a Rockefeller. But no farmer's boy becomes a James J. Hill or a Rockefeller, and every town boy thinks he has a chance. And this chance is much more eloquent than literary bucolics in praise of the farm. Prophets tell us that in five years from now, at the present increase of population, we shall not produce all the food we need, in ten years we shall be importing it. Of course farm products, that is food, rise in price. Luxurious living helps on the rise. We have lately taken off the tariff on hides: shoes ought to be cheaper. Not at all. For at the same time we have been converting grazing lands into grain lands, and also building automobiles. We have been producing less leather and creating a new demand for it. The leather that used to go into shoes for the many goes into automobiles for the few; and the many have to compete with the rich in the leather market. A high cost of living for all is produced by the cost of high living for the few. Our protective tariff has been organized to exclude foreign competition and so give our manufacturers high prices and their workingmen high wages. It does what it was intended to do. Why complain? Trusts, avowedly organized to reduce expenditure and facilitate production, have facilitated monopoly. The monopoly could increase prices and reduce wages, and has not always resisted the temptation. The cold storage has

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kept prices up when they would naturally have fallen. When hens are busy and eggs are cheap, the eggs are bought and put in store. When hens are taking a vacation and eggs are high, the owner puts the stored eggs on the market. We do not go to hens any longer for eggs; we go to cold storage. Gamblers have used the products of the soil—lumber, cotton, wool, grain—in their gambling operations, and have forced prices up and down in their reckless endeavor to get rich out of the distress of others.

Conditions produced by such a complexity of causes cannot be cured by a single and simple remedy. There is no panacea, either political or social. The correction must come through the co-operation of causes as complicated as the combined causes which have produced the present disturbances. These remedies are partly political, partly industrial, partly moral. Concerning them we may speak hereafter. Suffice it here to say that, if present conditions compel the American people to stop, to look about and take account of stock, to look within and take account of character, they will be well worth all that they have cost.

POST-OFFICE REFORM

Not long ago the sons of God appeared before the Lord, and Satan was among them. And the Lord said to Satan, "Where hast thou been?" Satan said, "In the United States visiting the Editors throughout the land." And the Lord said, "Hast thou taken consideration of the Editors of The Outlook, which for honesty, sincerity, and righteousness stands unexcelled in the land?"

Satan said, "Touch their pocketbooks and their morality and righteousness will vanish."

Then Satan prompted the President to recommend that the rate of postage be raised on magazines.

That was too great a temptation for The Outlook. It fell like the rest of "the bunch," talked rank nonsense about "bulk postage," and had the Old Nick crying "Stop thief!"

J. J.

For nearly twenty-seven years I served as assistant postmaster in Wisconsin. During this entire period, under five different postmasters (with a single exception for a short time), not one of them ever had so much as a chair or table in the office, never performed any service in the office, never knew whether the office carried one dollar or a thousand, never knew whether there might be on hand one stamp or a million.

The office has been no exception to the majority of first and second class offices, and the ability to manage them has been secured by paying an assistant half the amount paid the postmaster.

Pay the postmaster the same salary now paid the assistant, and require the postmaster to perform service, and a gain of some millions would accrue. Railways should be brought down ten or fifteen millions. The weighing and adjusting, if properly made, would develop jokers enough to overshadow the sugar scandal. The present rate and limit of weight for merchandise is a child nurtured by the express companies. The recent consultation of experts to devise some plan to relieve the deficiency resulted in a raise of two cents on the registry fee, under the pretext that the registry work cost so much, when no expert can tell what it does cost. The hand of the express company is, however, plainly visible in the two-cent raise.

Could business methods be established, a comfortable surplus would accrue even with largely reduced rates of postage. I may be permitted to coin a word: "Loebize" the Department, and the troublesome deficiency will soon disappear. L. M. W.

We select the foregoing from a number of letters which we have received, some of them approving, some of them criticising The Outlook's attitude regarding the suggestion of the President and the Postmaster-General that second-class postage rates upon weekly newspapers and magazines should be increased from the present rate of one cent a pound to a rate approximating the alleged cost of nine cents a pound. We print these two letters because the first, clever and amusing as it is, entirely misses the point which The Outlook has endeavored to make in its previous editorials on this subject; and because the second makes exactly the point which we should like to continue to emphasize. The Outlook not only does not ask for a postage subsidy, but objects to receiving one. It desires, in common with the great majority of American magazines, to pay a fair price to the Government for transportation through the mails, but it disagrees with the Postmaster-General in his statement of the cost.

It does not believe that the Post-Office Department has suffered a deficit of sixty-three millions of dollars by carrying newspapers and periodicals at one cent a pound. It believes that proper book-keeping will show that the second-class

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mail business comes very near being a source of profit to the Government.

It does not believe that the rural mail delivery service need be carried on at a loss of twenty-eight millions of dollars. It believes that if the parcels post system were introduced into the United States, the rural free delivery service could be made self-sustaining.

It does not believe that the business of the Post-Office Department ought to result in a deficit of seventeen millions of dollars, as Mr. Hitchcock says it did at the close of the last fiscal year. It believes that, with proper payments to the railways and with reforms of administration such as those pointed out in the second of the foregoing letters, the deficit would very easily be turned into a profit.

We yield to no one in our admiration of the splendid work in distributing mail matter which is accomplished hourly and daily, year in and year out, by the United States Government. We believe that no private corporation would serve the public so well. But it is notorious that in the past the Post-Office Department has been honeycombed with political patronage, and, although great improvements have been made in this direction by the application of civil service reform principles, there is doubtless room for further improvement. We hope that neither the public nor the periodicals will let the matter rest where it now stands, even if the Postmaster-General and Congress decide that an increase in postal rates is inadvisable. We hope the public and the periodicals will insist upon a Congressional investigation, not for the purpose of ferreting out and punishing corruption, for the Department is singularly free from such sins of commission, but in order to abolish inefficiency and introduce still further modern business methods.

There is a Director of the Census, assured of permanent tenure of office and practically free from political influence, who conducts his work under the authority and supervision of the Secretary of Commerce. Why should we not have a permanent Director of the Posts, removable only for cause, who should conduct the United States Post-Office as a business under the supervision of the frequently changing Postmasters-General? Such a business executive, freed from political burdens and responsibilities as a Cabinet officer cannot and ought not to be in our system of party government, might do for the Post-Office Department—to turn to a striking illustration of efficiency in Government business management—what Colonel Goethals is doing for the Panama Canal.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF HAWAII

The "Pacific Commercial Advertiser," of Honolulu, thinks The Outlook displayed "amazing ignorance" because in its editorial of December 18 on "The Outlook's Insular Policy" it did not tell its readers that Hawaii is a regularly organized Territory of the United States, that her citizens are American citizens, and that Hawaii is a group of islands. It did not give this information to its readers because it assumes that its readers are familiar with the more important facts in the recent history of the United States, and because these facts have no bearing on the fundamental principles advocated by The Outlook in that article. Those principles are stated in the article itself in the following words:

> In short, we would at once make citizenship optional, but not obligatory, for all residents in our island possessions; we would continue the present educational policy for the purpose of making all the islands self-governing communities, with, eventually, full control of their local affairs; we would return to the islanders for expenditure in the islands all moneys raised therein by Federal taxation; we would have the islands, like the [other] Territories, subject to the laws and Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court; and we would extend over the islands the protection of the United States alike against foreign foes and domestic rebellion.

There may be some doubt, perhaps, whether Congress can constitutionally return to the inhabitants of Hawaii "for expenditure in the islands all moneys raised therein by Federal taxation." A clause in the Constitution provides that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." We do not believe that a Territory of the United States is a part of the United States within the meaning of this clause, though we are not aware that this specific question has ever been decided by

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the Supreme Court. But even if the Congress cannot by a general law return all money raised by Federal taxation in the islands to the islands to be expended therein, as it does in Porto Rico, it could from time to time, if it chose to do so, make especial appropriations out of such moneys, or beyond their amount, for the special benefit of the islands, as for schools and good roads. This has been proposed, and The Outlook advocates now such appropriations to a reasonable extent. With this possible exception, if it is an exception, all the principles laid down in our article on the Insular Possessions are as applicable to Hawaii as they are to Porto Rico or the Philippines.

The Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States." A long line of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States makes it indisputable that this clause is as applicable to an organized Territory as to any other dependencies or colonies, or as it is to the District of Columbia. The following quotations from decisions of that Court, and from the Commentary of Chancellor Kent, stating the doctrine involved in these decisions, make this proposition sufficiently clear:

"This provision applies to territory acquired by treaty from a foreign nation." The Congress "possesses the power of governing it [such Territory] when acquired, not by resorting to supposititious powers, nowhere found described in the Constitution, but expressly granted in the authority to make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the territory of the United States" (p. 356). . . . This involves "power to pass all needful laws respecting it," and (p. 356) . . . "to govern the inhabitants of the Territory, by such laws as Congress deems needful, until they obtain admission as States. This power of Congress over the Territories of the United States "is general and plenary, arising from and incidental to the right to acquire the Territory itself, and from the power given by the Constitution to make all needful rules and regulations regarding the Terrritory or other property belonging to the United States." It is "the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire and to hold territory. . . . Accordingly we find Congress passing and executing the absolute and undisputed power of governing and legislating for the Territory Orleans." "Doubtless Congress, in legislating for the Territories, would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the Constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions." "The Territorial governments owe all their powers to the statutes of the United States conferring on them the powers which they exercise, and which are liable to be withdrawn, modified, or repealed at any time by Congress."

Hawaii is not a State, has none of the prerogatives of a State, may never become a State. The political power which Congress has bestowed upon it Congress may take away from it. Congress may repeal any act which the Territorial Legislature enacts; may repeal the act creating the Legislature; may substitute for the present form of government a form of government like that of Porto Rico or the Philippines; or it may abolish all self-government and substitute government by Commission, like that of the District of Columbia or that of Alaska. It may sell Hawaii to a foreign Power, or might conceivably sell it to its own inhabitants and make it an independent nationality. It probably cannot take away the American citizenship already possessed by Hawaiians, but it can determine whether Hawaiians not now citizens can become citizens, and, if so, on what terms and conditions.

We do not suggest, even remotely, that Congress should do any of these things; we only assert that it has the Constitutional power to do them.

In brief, the fact that Hawaii is an organized Territory of the United States gives it no right, either Constitutional or moral, to become at any time a State, nor is there anything in its present status to make inapplicable our contention that the eventual issue for all our island possessions, including Hawaii, should be to make them self-governing communities, under the protection and subject to the sovereignty of the United States, but not States in nor parts of the Union. Their moral right to self-government does not carry with it any right, either legal or moral, to take part in governing the United States.

Whatever the "Pacific Commercial Advertiser" may think of this law, it has only to examine the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States from

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some of which we have quoted to assure itself that this is the law under which Hawaii now exists as an organized Territory of the United States.

THEN AND NOW

Some thoroughly competent, modern-minded student of history has it in his power to comfort a great many people who are afflicted by the imaginary perfection of the "good old times," and who think that in morals, manners, and mind there has been a painful degeneration from ancient standards. Emerson used to say that he was never confused if he could see far enough, and that the cure for skepticism was to set the year against the day and the century against the year; in other words, to look at happenings and experiences in perspective. There were many charming and beautiful things in every past age. Some things that are lovely and of good report are always lost in every change of the standards and habits of civilization. But far more is gained than is sacrificed. It is very easy to make a fascinating picture of an age if you omit everything of an unpleasant character, but it does not add to the knowledge of society to make these attempts. Two or three illustrations, brought together almost casually, may comfort those who feel that, alike in public and private life, the good old times are greatly to be preferred to the bad new times.

In 1607 Shakespeare, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and a large group of men of genius were writing in English. To us it is an age of heroic achievement in the arts and in action, and we are in the habit of speaking of it as if it dwarfed our century and made the men of our time pygmies. This is what Ben Jonson, one of its foremost men, a scholar, student, and careful observer of this magnificent period which we love to describe as "the spacious days of Elizabeth," said of that age in 1607:

> Now, especially in dramatic, or, as they term it, stage-poetry, nothing but ribaldry, profanation, blasphemy, all license of offense to God and man is practiced. I dare not deny a great part of this, and am sorry I dare not.

In 1610 he wrote:

> Thou wert never more fair in the way to be cozened, than in this age, in poetry, especially in plays werein, now the concupiscence of dances and of antics so reigneith as to run away from nature and be afraid of her, is the only point of art that tickles the spectators.

And in 1611 he said:

> In so thick and dark an ignorance as now almost covers the age . . . you dare, in these jig-given times, to countenance a legitimate poem.

And the age which he damned is now regarded as the world's high-water mark!

The eighteenth century is popularly supposed to have been a time of very good manners, as it was a time of elegance in dress and of a certain formality and dignity which indicated to the untrained social refinement and elevation of mind. As a matter of fact, few ages have been more coarse in speech, more profligate and worldly, than the pleasant days of Queen Anne. As an illustration of the manners and habits of men of letters of the period in which Addison wrote, and to which he gave his great distinction, some comments from the well-known critic John Dennis on the still better-known poet Mr. Pope will be of interest:

> Yet, notwithstanding his ignorance and stupidity, this animalculum of an author is, forsooth! at this very juncture writing the Progress of Dulness. Yes! the author of Windsor Forest, of the Temple of Fame, of the What d'ye Call it; nay, the author even of the Profund is writing the Progress of Dulness! A most vain and impertinent enterprise! For they who have read his several pieces which we mentioned above, have read the Progress of Dulness; a progress that began in Windsor Forest, and ended in the Profund; as the short progress of the devil's hogs ended in the depth of the sea.

Later in the century this little interchange of courtesies took place between the editors of two leading literary periodicals, the "Monthly Review" and the "Critical Review:"

"The 'Monthly Review,'" said the editor of that magazine a year after the "Critical" was founded, "is *not* written by physicians without practice, authors without learning, men without decency, and gentlemen without manners." The editor of the "Critical" frankly rejoined: "The 'Critical Review' is not written by a parcel of obscure hirelings under the restraint of a bookseller and his wife. The writers for the 'Critical' are unconnected with booksellers and unawed by old women."

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In 1789 the heroes of the Revolutionary War were still living, and the afterglow of that heroic age lay like a beautiful sunset over the growing country. There are many people who imagine that it was an age of unadulterated patriotism; that our ancestors had great restraint and dignity in all their relations, and that nobility of motive and refinement of manner were characteristic of their public and private life. It is interesting, therefore, to find in a New York newspaper, published the 4th of March, 1789, this contribution to the political discussion then going on between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists, following the election of the first member of Congress from the city of New York, Mr. John Lawrence, who happened to be a lawyer:

BEWARE OF LAWYERS

Of the men who framed that monarchical, aristocratical, oligarchical, tyrannical, diabolical system of slavery, the *New Constitution, one Half* were lawyers. Of the men who represented, or rather misrepresented, this city and county in the late convention of this state, to whose wicked arts we may chiefly attribute the adoption of that abominable system, *seven* out of the *nine* were Lawyers. This same class of men will do all they can to establish and confirm that nefarious system, and as long as they are blindly trusted by the people, we shall never be able to succeed in our virtuous attempts to destroy it. And what crowns the wickedness of these wicked lawyers is, that a great majority of them throughout the state are violently opposed to our GREAT and GOOD HEAD and never-failing friend of the city and city interests, the present GOVERNOR. That aspiring party are the worst enemies of his and our VIRTUOUS ASPIRINGS. We warned you against them at the election for convention men; we now warn you against them again. Beware, beware, beware of Lawyers!

A TRUE ANTIFEDERALIST AND NO LAWYER.

Mch. 4, 1789.

THE NEW ERA IN CONGRESS

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

STANDING in the gallery of the House of Representatives, the visitor looks down on a scene of confusion. Around among the sweeping semicircles of desks men are moving. Here and there at a desk sits a man reading a newspaper, pawing over books or documents, or writing. In the front row an old man, having swung his swivel-chair about, sits meditatively with his elbow resting on his desk and his head on his hand. Knots of men, here four or five, there two or three, stand talking together. In the midst of the murmur of voices and the shuffling of feet, like the regular beat of the wheels on the tracks in the midst of the roar of a train, but without a regular ictus, there arises the sound as of a man making a speech. There he stands. The visitor can distinguish him by noting that he is the only man who is standing alone. A few men seated at desks near him appear to be giving him half attention. Near him, standing in the aisle, is a man scribbling in a note-book. A small boy darts in among the moving men, stands for a moment at the side of a seated member, receives a paper, and starts toward the front of the chamber. There, facing the semicircles, sit some more men in a row, at tables; above and behind them sit others; and above and behind all, leaning away back in his chair, sits, or rather half-inclines, a man with the face of an old New England farmer. Even across the room one can see the shrewdness in that clean-shaven face undergirt with gray whiskers. Up comes the gavel in his left hand, then down with a thump. Then up slowly, and down with a thump again. His voice, which seems to be penetrating without being clear, says something about order; but he turns back and resumes the conversation with the man at his side. The confusion of sound becomes more general. Up goes the gavel; thump, thump. His lean form stretches over his desk, and he says something indistin-

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guishable from the gallery. Everybody laughs, and the confusion somewhat subsides. This is the Speaker of the House—Uncle Joe, whose surname has now been embalmed in the word Cannonism.

Cannonism is an issue. It is a very live issue. The outward confusion that sometimes prevails on the floor of the House is as order compared with the internal confusion that prevails in the minds of its membership. No one knows what is going to happen; and all on account of Cannonism. It is against the system of which the Speaker is the head that a small group of Republican Representatives have revolted; and during the present state of the revolt no one knows what will happen to legislation.

If this revolt were all, it would be serious enough; but it is not all. There is a revolt in the Senate. When the visitor goes to the other wing of the Capitol and enters the gallery, he looks down on a scene of quietness. Decorous men, mostly gray-haired and dressed in frock coats, sit quietly at their desks. Occasionally a grave Senator walks quietly across the carpeted floor. Even the pages dart quietly. Underneath this calm, however, there is latent every element of hot struggle. No one knows what will happen to legislation there.

It is with a Congress in a state of twofold insurrection that the President has to deal. He has called its attention to important subjects of legislation, and has, through his Cabinet, even proposed measures for consideration. The fate of great natural resources depends upon the action that Congress may or may not take; the course of commerce within the Nation will be determined by its action or inaction. Why cannot Representatives and Senators of the dominant party lay aside their squabbles and join in passing laws to which their party is committed? It is because this body of legislation has been proposed at a critical time in a change in public sentiment. This change has resulted in an upheaval which is manifest not only in Congress, but also in the administrative departments of the Government. The insurrection in the House and the Senate is not a squabble between factions, it is the sign of a new era.

This change in public sentiment touches three matters—public policy, the method of legislation, and the method of administration. It is so great as to amount to a change in moral values. It transcends differences of opinion regarding specific policies, or measures, or men. It involves the question as to what attitude public men should have toward all policies, all measures, all men.

In the first place, as to public policy, this change has shown itself most clearly in the Senate. The old idea was based on the theory embedded in the proverb, When every one takes care of himself, care is taken of all. The public good, so the theory ran, is secured by the clash of private interests. Let the interest of this locality, this individual, this concern, this industry, enter the arena with the interest of every other locality, individual, concern, industry. Let them fight, each for its own advantage; let them struggle and compromise. The result will be the greatest good of the greatest number. The public interest, according to this theory, is the sum total of all private interests. If each private interest gets all that it can, then the public interest is served as fully as the public interest can be. It was on this theory that the Tariff Bill was framed. Here are the wool interests, the cotton interests, the steel interests, the sugar interests; here is New England, the South, the Middle West, the Rocky Mountain region, the Pacific slope. Let each section, each industry, get what it can and prevent others from injuring it, and the whole country will prosper. For this theory of public policy stood the Senators who had been longest in public service—Senators Aldrich and Hale and Frye and men of like mind.

In these later years, however, there has grown up another theory. It is that the public interest is something else besides the sum total of all private interests. In tariff matters that great public interest was called by the inappropriate name of the Ultimate Consumer. There was a feeling that the country as a whole was being forgotten in the consideration of the country in all its parts. Representing this feeling were several Senators from the Middle West. They were all young in public service. The senior among them was Senator

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Beveridge, who had served about ten years. Because they were younger in service several were not well advanced in places of power on the dominating committees; but for the same reason they represented the newer and the growing sentiment. When they attacked a schedule as iniquitous, it was not because that schedule injured any special interest, but because they believed it was an injury to the interest of the public. In the fight they fought on the tariff bills they were beaten; but it was not a fight in vain. For the first time a united body of Senators had stood for the new principle that measures should be considered in regard, not to their effect on the sum total of all private interests, but to their effect on the interest of the public. And that principle is going to arise in regard to the measures which are to be considered by Congress at this session. Legislation regarding the public domain, with regard to corporations, with regard to the control of inter-State commerce, with regard to finance, is going to be scrutinized by Senators whose chief concern will be, not in adjusting the relative claims of private interests, but in securing the common welfare. And the recognition of this new principle will not be confined to the so-called insurgent Senators; it will extend to many others whose own views have been unconsciously changing with the views of the rest of the American people.

In the second place, as to legislative methods, this change in standards has shown itself most clearly in the House of Representatives. The old idea was that each Representative represented his own particular constituents, and that the sum total of all good was accomplished by a method of trading and bargaining. In this process of legislative barter, each man, of course, was supposed to be eager to gain all the credit he could for serving his constituents and to escape all the responsibility he could for deciding difficult and sometimes embarrassing questions of public policy. In all this clash of interest there would be endless confusion, amounting to chaos, if some system were not adopted for securing compromise. After great difficulty a clearing-house was created, with the Speaker at the head. It was this clearing-house that created the rules, subject nominally, of course, to the approval of the majority, and actually chose the committees. Responsibility for the character of the House organization was thus centered upon the Speaker. His responsibility, however, was not to the public, but to the majority of the members of his party in the House. Consequently, so long as he succeeded in managing satisfactorily the compromises and bargains between the members of the majority, he was regarded as a skillful leader of public usefulness. This system worked admirably measured by the standard which prevailed. It was a standard perfectly honestly held, a standard held by many perfectly honestly now. Its effect, however, was to place almost insuperable obstacles in the way of legislation designed solely for the public welfare. A member found it very easy to go to the Speaker and ask him to see that a bill on which it would be embarrassing for him to vote be allowed to die in committee, and never be brought before the whole House. If there was no special local constituency to be served by such a bill, it was easy for the Speaker to acquiesce. If the member who was sponsor for the bill should protest, he could be disciplined by loss of power on committees or by the withdrawal of favor from his bills generally. Of course if pressure were brought to bear upon the House oligarchy by the Administration, or by publicity, or by the more effective method of personal appeal to the Speaker and his lieutenants, measures of great public importance might be put through; but if that pressure were resisted, the penalty on the Speaker would be almost nothing. The Speaker, himself a member, would not lose his membership so long as he pleased his constituency, nor his Speakership so long as he pleased the bargainers.

This system is no more Cannonism than it is Reedism or Crispism, but it bears the present Speaker's name because it is during his Speakership that popular protest against it has become vocal and effectual. That protest has assumed its present proportions because the country has been adopting a different standard for legislation and sending some men to Congress who have attempted to act according to that standard. These men have set themselves

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to legislate not merely for their constituents, nor merely for such other constituents as they served by observing their contracts with other Representatives, but for the country as a whole. Some of these men have stood for progressive measures, like the insurgents in the House, and of these some might be regarded as radical in their political doctrines, but others are of a conservative cast of mind. They are all, however, insurgents because they are in revolt against a system which they unite in condemning. And what is most significant, many Representatives who are in no sense insurgents are wondering about their own political future because they are learning every day from their own constituents that public sentiment "at home" is likewise against the system. Whether Mr. Cannon is a good Speaker or not is not the real issue. As a personification of the old system he has proved to be an excellent Speaker. It is not the man, it is the system, that the country is outgrowing. If the great measures for which the Administration stands are to be passed, they must be passed in the midst of this upheaval. To attempt to quiet Congress down would be like the attempt to quiet an earthquake. It is not a squabble between factions, it is a conflict between fundamental theories, that is the cause of the present confusion.

In the third place, as to administrative methods, the issue is not so well advanced, but it is as clear as the change in other respects. The old idea of the Executive was that he was to carry out the composite will of the special interests as expressed by Congress, and do nothing more. For example, the public domain was not, according to the old idea, really a public domain; it was a domain belonging to a lot of private interests, but simply waiting for distribution. The Land Office was created expressly as a Bureau of Disposal. It was a favor to the Government for a qualified person to take land off its hands. A land claim was not, therefore, on this old idea, a claim against the public; it was really the offer of a favor to the Government. The Executive, under this theory, was not a servant of the public, because, according to this theory, there was no such thing as the public, but the servant of that composite of special interests known as Congress. The Executive should do nothing but what this composite voice of special interests said should be done. Gradually, however, there began to develop the feeling that the public as a whole owned that domain, had rights as against all special interests combined, and needed the services of administrative officers. This feeling is based on sound Constitutional law, but it runs against tradition; those officials, therefore, who acted in accordance with it were accused of lawlessness. Nevertheless, their services became year by year more and more highly valued. It was the fact that the Roosevelt Administration acted on this theory that, as much as anything else, secured for it the public faith. Unhappily, just at this time, when public feeling was stronger than ever, Mr. Ballinger, who frankly represents the older theory, became the official conserver of the public domain, and Mr. Pinchot, who represented in the public mind even here in Washington more than any other officer of the Government the newer idea, had to retire. No matter how conscientious the one may be, no matter how unwise the other might have been, the issue still remains. It is the conflict between two fundamental theories; and it cannot be settled by a Congressional investigation. It is sure to continue.

This issue as to the attitude of public men toward public questions is the one which is creating the disturbance in Washington. Nobody here really believes that on this issue the Administration is trying to cast its lot with the older theory, though there are insurgents in both the Senate and the House who feel that by some chance or other, by misfortune, perhaps, or by the skillful strategy of their enemies, the weight of the Administration has been felt against their cause. This, however, remains true, that, even for the purpose of putting through the most urgent of the Taft measures, the Republican party cannot escape the struggle between the two fundamental theories of self-government in which it is now engaged. ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

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CROSS-CURRENTS IN THE TIDE

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM ENGLAND[1]

ENGLAND is going to the dogs! The land of Magna Charta, of the peerless British Constitution, of Alfred the Great and Cromwell and Nelson, of Simon de Montfort and Pitt and Gladstone, will in two weeks' time be irrevocably treading "the primrose path to the eternal bonfire." This information I have, not from one quarter, but from three. In two cases the doom is contingent, in one absolute.

First come my Liberal friends. If the Conservatives win, the grasp of an outworn body of hereditary legislators upon the machinery of government and the clutch of a landed monopoly upon the sources of the people's prosperity will be terribly tightened. The peer and the property-owner will be exalted, the commoner and the toiler brought low.

Then the Conservatives. If the Liberals win, Socialism, spoliation, and demagogy will stalk unbridled through the land. Class will be set against class, and a revolution like the Reign of Terror will begin to shake its gory locks.

Last the Suffragette. Whichever side wins, woman is still degraded, ground down, defrauded of her birthright, and the very name of British Manhood is a byword and a reproach.

Palpably England is, as the English say, "done."

But America has, with quadrennial regularity, been on the horns of so similar a dilemma that I must say, like De Morgan's delicious Sally, "Well, I don't see anything in *that*!"

Let us elaborate the two contingent policies—the third we must leave to a later day. Let us consider the issues which in this election divide Conservative and Liberal, and try to present the arguments which each side hurls at the other.

The Naval Question

In my first paper I set down the battle-cries of the opposing forces: for the Liberals, "The Budget and Social Reform," and "Down with the Lords;" for the Conservatives, "Tariff Reform and Prosperity for All," and "A Strong Second Chamber to Check Extravagance." To these, within a week, has been added by the Conservatives a fifth—"A Strong Navy and Protection from Germany." Of course the thought has always been there and been frequently expressed in campaign speeches, but midway of the campaign it has been dignified into an official ground of challenge. In an address on January 4 Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Conservative party, treated the subject with great seriousness and sounded a note of warning.

He said, in substance: When the Conservatives left office four years ago, we left the present Government with an overwhelming strength in battle-ships and an ample supply in naval stores. They have been living upon these battle-ships and consuming these stores. They occupied themselves for a time in "amiable, philanthropic, but perfectly futile and fruitless" negotiations for the limitation of armaments, while other nations (meaning Germany) were making themselves ready to build the biggest ships with a rapidity which England cannot surpass. Now, compared with Germany, our strength has enormously diminished. Not only have the Liberals allowed the navy, which the Conservative Government left strong, to become weak, but they have ignored the fact that Germany can now build ships faster than we. We are now in a position in which we have not been within the memory of living man, and our naval superiority in our own seas is threatened. Everything depends upon the navy. Unless our navy be supreme, we exist as an empire only on sufferance. Among the statesmen and diplomats of the lesser Powers there is a unanimity of opinion that a struggle sooner or later between this country and Germany is inevitable. Unless we bestir ourselves, Great Britain will be in a position of peril which it has not known in the memory of our fathers, our grandfathers, or our great-grandfathers; and if that position of peril should issue in some great catastrophe, it will be a catastrophe from which this country will not again easily arise. Abso-

[1] The second of a series of articles on "England in Evolution," the first of which appeared in The Outlook of January 29.—THE EDITORS.

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lutely the only way to secure the peace which we all desire is to be sure of victory if war takes place.

Thus the leader of the Opposition, and thus, and even more violently, some of his followers. A series of articles in the "Daily Mail" by Robert Blatchford, a Socialist leader and editor, has been one of the striking features of the campaign. In them he says:

> I write these articles because I believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to destroy the British Empire; and because I know that we are not able or ready to defend ourselves against a sudden and formidable attack. . . .
>
> The French were defeated by the Germans because they were not ready; the Spaniards were defeated by the Americans because they were not ready; the Russians were defeated by the Japanese because they were not ready. We are not ready; Germany is ready. We are never ready; Germany is always ready. . . .
>
> It is time our Government and our people recognized the facts. Germany has challenged us. If we show weakness, we are lost. We cannot bluff our enemy. We cannot evade him. We cannot buy safety for an old song. We can only hold our own against so powerful and resolute an antagonist by showing an equal power and resolution.

He ends by advocating compulsory military service and an immediate vote of two hundred and fifty million dollars for the navy. His unrestrained predictions and his extravagant demands have received the tacit, if not the explicit, commendation of the Conservatives. And therein we have the humorous, if not, as some Englishmen say, the scandalous, spectacle of the Conservative party damning the Budget with the horrible epithet "Socialistic," and in the same breath welcoming as an ally the arch-Socialist of them all, against whom the Tory press in the past could say nothing too violent. Truly the Englishman reserves his sense of humor for literary, dramatic, and recreational uses.

To these charges of blindness and unpreparedness the Liberals reply: The navy is ready; we are doing and shall do what is necessary to maintain our supremacy on the sea. We have provided this year for four super-Dreadnoughts at once and four more if contingencies demand. And we would call your attention to the fact that when, after yielding to your demands for the second four, we sent in the bill (in the Budget), you refused to pay. Where the truth lies who shall say? Experts on the one side say, England, beware of Germany! On the other, England need have no fear of German aggression! On the one, England is unprepared. On the other, England is well prepared. But one thing is certain, the question forms a real issue in the election.

The House of Lords

In a sense the question of the status of the House of Lords is the primary one at this election. If the Lords had not rejected the Budget, no election would have been held at this moment. And in their action arose inevitably a constitutional question as to the relative functions of Lords and Commons. In this action the Liberals believe the Lords showed themselves usurpers of the rights of the elected representatives of the people, encroachers upon the exclusive function of the Commons to control finance; the Conservatives believe that the Lords performed their legitimate and indispensable function of a bulwark between the property and prosperity of the country and those who by raiding the one would destroy the other. The Lords, says the Prime Minister, "rejected the whole provision which the Commons had made for the finance of the year, . . . a proceeding without precedent in our history, a wanton breach of the settled practice of the Constitution." The Lords, say Conservative campaigners to the voters, merely asked you to express your opinion on the Budget; they did not believe such novel and revolutionary legislation should be enacted without the people having an opportunity to pass upon it.

Every country, say the Conservatives, must have a strong second chamber, as a conservative check on the headlong impulses of radicalism. The House of Lords does no more than to block rash legislation for a moment, until the popular will can be truly and definitely ascertained. "But," says Mr. Asquith, "the will of the people, however clearly and emphatically expressed, is always liable to be rendered inoperative.

"Given a Tory majority in the House of Commons," he continues, "the House of Lords interposes no check upon legislative

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innovations of the most violent and unexpected kind, as we saw in the case of the Education Act of 1902 and the Licensing Act of 1904.

"On the other hand, a Liberal majority in the House of Commons, as has been demonstrated during the last four years, is, under existing conditions, impotent to place on the statute book the very measures which it was sent to Westminster to carry into law. It is absurd to speak of this system as though it secured to us any of the advantages of a second chamber in the sense in which that term is understood and practically interpreted in every other democratic country."

We agree, say the Conservatives, that the make-up of the House of Lords needs reformation. There are many entitled to a seat in it who are a detriment to its usefulness. We have already proposed that some new plan be adopted by which the quantity of its membership shall be reduced, and thus the average quality of its membership be raised. But you must remember, they argue, that some of the best brains and the finest talents in England are in the hereditary chamber. Most peers are created because they have been successful in some profession or business, or because they have become pre-eminent in public affairs or science or art. The House of Lords, says an American writer, "may still claim for itself to be the Witenagemot, or gathering of wise men. . . . The present House of Lords is conspicuously and predominantly a democratic body, chosen from the successful of the land. . . . There is no assembly where a man could go . . . where he would be more certain of getting sound advice upon every subject, from higher mathematics and abstruse law down to the shoeing of a horse or the splicing of a cable." Therefore, say the Conservatives, let us reform the chamber by eliminating the others, the fraction whose participation in its deliberations is negligible, and giving more force to the wisdom of the best.

But, say the Liberals, mere reform of its composition will not cure the evil. Again Mr. Asquith: "The experience of the Parliament which has to-day been dissolved shows that the possession of an unlimited veto by a partisan second chamber is an insuperable obstacle to democratic legislation. . . . The limitation of the veto is the first and most urgent step to be taken, for it is the condition precedent to the attainment of the great legislative reforms which our party has at heart." Not reform of the membership of the hereditary chamber, but limitation of its powers, say the Liberals, is what we believe to be essential.

So here we have another issue in the campaign—a great question of interpretation of the British Constitution, and, indeed, of the introduction of a new principle into it. And this issue illustrates a very interesting difference between British and American political institutions. The British Constitution is, of course, not a written document; it consists of statutes, of customs which are enforced by the courts and form part of the common law, and of custom and conventions which have no legal expression or validity. Any law can be changed by Parliament, and thus every law is constitutional until it is so changed. In the United States no law is constitutional which, in the judgment of the Supreme Court, conflicts with the principles laid down in the written Constitution. In the present case it is a convention of the Constitution which is in dispute, and appeal is had to the court of last resort—the popular will. In England there is only one conclusive means of expressing the popular will—an election to the House of Commons. So, since great lawyers, able statesmen, the leaders of the great political parties, have disagreed as to what the Constitution really does provide in this given case, they have said: We must leave the question to the people; they will determine, not what the Constitution has provided in the past, but what it ought to and shall provide in the future. This decision is to be made known, not in a vote upon a definitely worded amendment to a written constitution, as in the United States, but in the general result of an election in which many other issues are also at stake. The answer can hardly be clear-cut and unmistakable, and it may well be a matter of contention just what the answer really means when it has been given. But no other method of settling the debated question is open. The people themselves must interpret or amend the Constitution by a vote in which at the same time they are voicing their opinion on several other hotly debated and complex questions. Surely this is popular govern-

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ment, but surely by a rather curious method.

Tariff Reform

The main issue from the Conservative point of view is tariff reform. The Conservative leader has admitted that one reason why the party was so eager to have the Budget rejected by the Lords was because it seemed a ripe opportunity for a campaign for the policy of protection. Some new taxation was inevitable, for the deficit of $80,000,000 confronted the country, and the imposition of those taxes suggested by Mr. Lloyd-George would have closed the way, at least for the moment, to tariff reform. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the author of the movement for tariff reform, who lies helplessly ill at Birmingham, has said, in a letter, since the beginning of the campaign that "if tariff reform is postponed, it is at least probable that we shall have no other opportunity of what, I believe, is the greatest reform we can put forward for the help of our trade in this time of distress." In another letter he said, "If we postpone the change too long, it may not come in our time."

As the campaign has advanced this issue seems to have taken a larger and larger place in the discussion. The Conservatives, of course, have hammered at it hard, and the Liberals have been forced to devote more and more attention to it.

Since Cobden, sixty years ago, secured the repeal of the Corn Laws, England has been the great exponent of free trade. Her only tariff has been for revenue, and has included taxes on what are more or less luxuries—sugar, tea, spirits, cocoa, coffee, tobacco.

Now, say the Conservatives, the time has come for a change of policy. All the other great nations have adopted protection. From the markets of the world England is barred, more or less effectually, by tariff walls. To her markets every other nation has free access, without let or hindrance. "Foreigners," says one Conservative leader, "now send $700,000,000 worth of manufactured goods yearly to England. These are admitted free, and compete unfairly with British manufactures. The result is seen in closed factories, 'decaying industries,' and 13,000,000 people on the verge of starvation." "British workmen," argues the Conservative canvasser's handbook, "have the first right to their own home market and to make and produce the articles sold in Britain. . . . The effect of foreign goods coming into this country is either to throw our workmen out of employment or materially to lower their wages. . . . No foreign nation will adopt our so-called system of free trade. On the contrary, they do their utmost to prevent any goods coming into their countries which they can produce at home. For example, the United States and Germany put enormous duties on English goods, while we accept all their goods free. The result is that, whereas thirty years ago England was the workshop of the world, to-day the United States has far surpassed us in volume of trade and Germany is creeping ahead."

If you tax foreign manufactured goods, it is further asserted, of a kind which are made in England, the English goods control the price, and the foreigner will pay the tax in order to get his goods in and to keep the market. If he does not, Englishmen will make the goods and get the wages. Either way England will be the gainer. "Tariff reform," says Mr. Balfour, "reasonably carried out, will increase, and greatly increase, employment for the working class of this country. . . . It is the employed who are the majority of the community, and it is incredible that anything which improved the position of the employed . . . would not be good for all other classes." At another time he stated the case thus: "If we are to make the most of our resources, it is all-important that we should not encourage capital to go abroad, that we should more and more see that those who desire to employ capital at home, to the immense and really undisputed advantage of the working classes of this country, should not be submitted to any unfair competition which it is in our power to avoid."

The tariff reform programme also includes preference to England's colonies, thus cementing the Empire and strengthening the bonds between the mother country and her vast possessions across the seas. The colonies have granted preference to England in their tariffs, and England ought to reciprocate.

Now the tariff is an intricate economic

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question which few people understand thoroughly, and of those few I do not pretend to be one, but I think I have stated as fairly as I can so briefly the Conservative argument for tariff reform. To this the Liberals reply: If tariff reform is to produce the revenue needed to wipe out our deficit, a tax must be put on corn (the English name for wheat). With a tax on his commonest article of food, the last state of the British workingman will be worse than the first.

"You and I," said the Prime Minister, "defend free trade now because we believe it has proved, by our experience, to be the best thing for us in this country at the present time. Why do we think so? I can answer that question in a sentence: In our insular position, with an ever-growing and crowded population, it was vital to our maintenance, and still more to our development and improvement, that we should keep here a perfectly open market, and abstain from any form of taxation which would enhance the cost of either the materials of industry or the necessities of the life of the people."

Mr. Lloyd-George also has asked: "If protection is better than free trade, how is it that the shipping of Great Britain is four times greater than that of Germany, eight times greater than that of France, and twelve times greater than that of the United States? How is it that wages in this country are higher than in any country in Europe and food and clothing are cheaper? Why is Great Britain the richest country in the world? Why do we export twice as much of our products as Germany, and four times as much as the United States?"

The Conservatives predict from tariff reform more work for the workingman, more security for capital, more production for the country, more prosperity for all, more solidarity for the Empire. Their most startling pronouncement is that *the foreigner will pay the tax*. The Liberals foretell dearer food for the workingman, higher prices for the consumer, insufficient revenue because imports are kept out. They declare that it is the experience of protection countries that not the foreigner but the consumer pays the tax. And this is a contention with which the American visitor to London who pays $1.25 instead of $2 for his gloves, just one-half as much for a suit of clothes as he would pay in America, and $26 for an overcoat which he could not buy at home for $40 cannot help but sympathize.

The programme of the tariff reformers seems to be quite indefinite. No one will vouchsafe a definite suggestion as to what shall be taxed or on what basis the tariff rates shall be computed. The Conservative leaders do not say that food will be taxed, but neither do they deny it; and it is quite common in private conversation with tariff reformers to have the necessity for the taxation of food admitted. No such principle for the imposition of duties has been laid down as that declared in the United States in the Republican platform, that the duty should be sufficient to make up the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad. To the observer it looks as if English tariff reformers did not realize what a complicated and difficult task they were proposing to the country and had no anticipation of the troubles which their policy would quite probably bring in its train. They seem to have left human nature out of their calculations. They do not expect British manufacturers to raise prices when foreign competition is lessened. The trust problem, from which England seems to be as yet free, and which in America found at least a partial cause in the tariff, has for them no terrors. The conception of the tariff as "a local issue" which sets locality contending or bargaining with locality, industry with industry, special interest with special interest, has not dawned upon them. There is no such thing as a lobby in England, Englishmen tell you; perhaps there would not be even if a tariff bill were being considered, but Americans will hardly believe it. England may need tariff reform, and she may be going to get it, but she hardly seems to be going into the question with her eyes wide open.

Here are impressions, fragmentary, sketchy, perhaps biased, but certainly honest in the attempt, of three of the great issues in the present election. The fourth, and what seems to me to be the greatest, I must leave to another paper. It seems the greatest because it concerns widespread and long-established condi-

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tions from which England is suffering, and because it expresses, in my judgment, a fundamental principle too long unrecognized and neglected. The issue is that of the Lloyd-George land taxes, the revolutionary portion of his Budget.

London. HAROLD J. HOWLAND.

THE NEGLECTED FARMER[1]

BY SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

THE origin and early growth of the conservation idea, which by mere accident came under my observation, well illustrate the quick responsiveness of the American mind and conscience, which excites the admiring wonder of inquirers from old countries, where public opinion moves more leisurely and action does not tread upon the heels of thought. For just consider what has happened in a period less than the life of one administration. A few people begin to think upon a great public question and Mr. Roosevelt decides to act. The Governors of all the States and Territories meet at the National capital and "declare the conviction that the greatest prosperity of our country rests upon the abundant resources of the land chosen by our forefathers for their homes;" that these resources are "a heritage to be made use of in establishing and promoting the comfort, prosperity, and happiness of the American people, but not to be wasted, deteriorated, or needlessly destroyed; that this material basis is threatened with exhaustion;" that "conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States, and the people in earnest co-operation;" and that "this co-operation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress and by the Legislatures of the several States."

The legislation which, it may be assumed, will follow upon this pronouncement can hardly fail to raise controversial issues, and these are best left alone by outsiders. Nor is it necessary for the theme I have chosen that I should pursue further the general policy of conservation. Indeed, my concern with it arises only from the fact that the chief of all the Nation's resources is the fertility of the soil, which happens to be the subject of the greatest actual waste and to be also capable of the greatest potential development and conservation. Here, too, both the evil and the remedy belong much more to the sphere of voluntary action than to that of legislation or administration. It is probably for this reason that, while in the promotion of the conservation idea governmental action bids fair to lead rather than to follow public opinion, those who are attempting to popularize the rural life idea are still struggling for a platform. Some assistance they will require at the hands of the Government, but they will have to do a great deal of work in arousing public interest before legislatures can be stimulated to action. While conservation has leaped into prominence as a policy, the attempt to give practical effect to the sister idea must, for the present at any rate, be regarded as a movement.

That this is no distinction without a difference will be clear when we contrast the quiet initiation of the movement with the dramatic début of the policy. For all the officialism with which it was launched, President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission might as well have been appointed by some wealthy philanthropist, such as Mr. Andrew Carnegie. He, at least, would have paid their traveling expenses, which, as a matter of fact, were defrayed by the Russell Sage Foundation; and private initiation might also have spared us the ridicule

[1] The second of a series of articles on "Conservation and Rural Life," the first of which appeared in The Outlook of January 29.—THE EDITORS.

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which greeted the alleged proposal to "uplift" a body of citizens who were told that they were already adorning the heights of American civilization. The names of the men who volunteered for this unpaid service should have been a sufficient guarantee that theirs was no fool's errand. I may mention, because I know them and their work, Professor Bailey, of Cornell; Mr. Henry Wallace, a leading agricultural publicist in the Middle West; President Butterfield, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College; Mr. Walter Page, the well-known writer upon social and economic subjects; and Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

How real a problem the commissioners were investigating was abundantly proved to those who happened in, as I did, at the sittings of the Commission when it got into touch with working farmers and their wives. They were to inquire into and report generally upon the conditions, human and material, which go to make up what, for convenience, I will call the problem of rural life. On the threshold of their inquiry they were met by an apathy which is a more formidable obstacle in the reformer's path than active hostility. It may be broadly stated that the general public know little and care less about agricultural conditions; and, what is worse, farmers are singularly lacking in that social instinct and co-operative spirit which should make them study and work out what, after all, is primarily their own problem.

I shall refer later to the report of the Commission, to their diagnosis of the conditions, and their proposed system of treatment. But, as a worker in the same field, I know that the help they most need is a complete change in public opinion. This must precede any rapid progress in the rural life movement, and, if my view be sound, is equally necessary to any large results from the conservation policy. Here, however, I propose to commend the movement on its merits, without any reference to the policy. I shall base my plea upon the contention that for many decades we have been guilty, unconsciously no doubt, of having gravely neglected one side, and that surely an important side, of Western civilization. I believe the present attitude of public opinion towards the old question of town and country is due to economic tendencies and social changes, the general character and effect of which I must briefly indicate.

Among Western nations the progress of civilization has riveted men's thoughts upon the great centers of industry and commerce, where the most startling changes have taken place. The dweller in the modern city not unnaturally believes that the many and varied improvements recently effected in its conditions have fully counteracted the apprehended evils of concentration. He is confident that the rapid and cheap transit facilities which enable the industrial and commercial classes to live in ever-widening suburbs will realize the ideal of *rus in urbe*. What with improved sanitation and physical culture on the one hand, and the multiplication of movements for intellectual advancement and social betterment on the other, the townsman of the future is expected to unite the physical health and longevity of the Bœotian with the mental superiority of the Athenian.

This somewhat optimistic survey seems to me to neglect one important factor. It does not appear to have been sufficiently considered how far the ethical and physical health of the modern city has been due to the constant influx of fresh blood from the country. At present the town makes an irresistible appeal to the spirit of enterprise, to the growing craving for excitement, to the desire to live where there is most life. The country is thus the reservoir from which the town draws its best citizenship. You cannot keep on indefinitely skimming the pan and have equally good milk left. In America the drain may continue a while longer without the inevitable consequences becoming plainly visible; but sooner or later, if the balance of trade in this human traffic be not adjusted, the raw material out of which urban society is made will be seriously deteriorated. When that time comes, the symptoms of National degeneracy will be properly charged against those who failed to foresee the evil and treat the cause.

The present attitude of the public mind on this question is no doubt due to the same economic causes which evolved the modern city and urbanized the thoughts and activities of progressive peoples. The

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industrial revolution which robbed the country of its manufactures, and the establishment of "the world market" by improved and cheapened transportation, have produced a radical change in the relationship between the two sections, rural and urban, into which every civilized people is divided. Within the last century every town relied largely on the produce of the fields around its walls. The countrymen coming into the weekly market were the principal customers for the wares of the town craftsmen. This simple exchange, as we all know, has developed into the complex commercial operations of modern times. To-day most large towns derive their means of sustenance from the food-growing tracts of the whole world; and I doubt whether any are necessarily dependent on the adjoining agricultural communities or feel themselves specially concerned for their welfare. And yet the reciprocity between the producers of food and the raw material of clothes, on the one hand, and manufacturers and general traders of the towns, on the other, has not passed; it has actually increased since the days of steam and electricity. Town consumers are still dependent upon agricultural producers, who, in turn, are much larger consumers than formerly of all kinds of commodities made in towns. Forty-two per cent of materials used in manufacture in the United States are from the farm, which also contributes seventy per cent of the country's exports. I say, therefore, that the old mutual interest of town and country remains; but in the break-up of the personal connection which belonged to the local market the sense of the corresponding mutual obligation has been lost. I hope in the following pages to show that it is essential to national progress that in the polity of nations the old sense of mutual interest and obligation of town and country shall be restored. I know that I am running counter to the prevailing popular sentiment, which is curiously reflected by a correspondent in a New York newspaper before me as I write. A lady explains that her patriotic fervor does not find adequate expression in the English language, to which she proposes we should add the inspiring word "oppidism." With unconscious humor and grim suggestiveness she rejects "urbanism" because Rome made too exclusive a use of the word "urbs." Alas, how history is repeating itself!

Now, differ as we may upon the causes which have brought about the neglect of rural life, none will gainsay the wisdom of estimating its consequences. These are economic, social, and political, and I will discuss them under these heads in turn. They will appeal differently to different minds; but taken together they will, I trust, complete the case for inquiry and lead to action.

There are three main economic reasons which suggest a closer study of rural conditions. First, there is the already mentioned interdependence of town and country, less obvious than it was in the days of the local exchange, but no less real. Any diminution in the number or lowering of the efficiency of the agricultural community will be accompanied by a corresponding restriction in the country sale of town products. This is especially true of America, where the foreign commerce is unimportant in comparison with internal trade. And far more important than these considerations is the effect which good or bad farming must have upon the cost of living to the whole population. I am aware that excessive middle profits between producer and consumer may largely account for the very serious, and too little discussed, rise in the price of staple articles of food; but, as I shall show later, the remedy for too high a cost of production and distribution lies with the farmer, the reorganization of whose business will be seen to be the chief factor in the reform which the rural life movement must attempt to introduce.

The second economic consideration relates to the essential dependence of nations on agriculture. The income of every country depends on natural resources and on the skill and energy of its inhabitants; and the quickest way to increase the income is to concentrate on the production of those articles for which there is throughout the commercial world the greatest demand. The relentless application of this principle has been characteristic of the nineteenth century. But the augmentation of income has in one special way been purchased by a diminution of capital. The industrial movement

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has been based on an immense expenditure of coal and iron; and in America and Great Britain the coal and iron which can be cheaply obtained are within measurable distance of exhaustion. As these supplies diminish, the industrial leadership of America and Great Britain must be imperiled, unless they can employ their activities in other forms of industry. Those, therefore, who desire that the English-speaking countries should maintain for many ages that high position which they now occupy ought to do all in their power to encourage a proper system of agriculture—the one industry in which the fullest use can be made of natural resources without diminishing the inheritance of future generations—the industry about which Mr. James J. Hill emphatically declares that "all others revolve, and by whose future America shall stand or fall."

The third economic reason will not, I think, be disputed. Agricultural prosperity is an important factor in financial stability. The fluctuations of commerce depend largely on the good and bad harvests of the world, but, as they do not coincide with them in time, their violence is on the whole likely to be less in a nation with large agricultural interests to balance its manufactures than in one that depends mainly or entirely either on agriculture or on manufactures. The small savings of numerous farmers, amounting in the aggregate to very large sums, are a powerful means of steadying the money market; they are not liable to the vicissitudes nor attracted by the temptations which affect the larger investors. They remain a permanent national resource, which, as the experience of France proves, may be confidently drawn upon in time of need. I have often thought that were it not for the thrift and industry of the French peasantry financial crises would be as frequent in that country as are political upheavals.

As regards the social aspect of rural neglect, I have already suggested that the city may be more seriously concerned than is generally imagined for the well-being of the rural population. I am aware that the extent to which the modern city really depends upon the country for the renewal of its population is a question which cannot at present be determined with any certainty; and this is largely because too little attention has been given to the condition of rural populations by those who are responsible for the collection and interpretation of vital statistics. But this opens a question altogether too large to be treated comprehensively in a short study. It is enough for my present purpose if it be admitted that the people of every State are largely bred in rural districts, and that the physical and moral well-being of those districts must consequently determine the quality of the whole people. I come now to the political considerations, which I think have not been sufficiently taken into account among the reasons for the rehabilitation of rural life.

In most countries I think it may be confidently asserted that political life depends for its steadiness and sanity largely upon a strong infusion of rural thought into the counsels of the nation. It is a truism to say that democracy requires for success a higher level of intelligence and character in the mass of the people than other forms of government. But intelligence alone is not enough for the citizen of a democracy; he must have experience as well; and the experience of a townsman is essentially imperfect. Such a man has generally a wider theoretical knowledge of the main processes by which the community lives than the rustic; but the rustic's practical knowledge of the more fundamental of them is wider than the townsman's. The rustic knows actually and in detail how corn is grown and how beasts are bred, whereas the town artisan hardly knows how the whole of any one article of commerce is made. He constantly sees and takes part in the wonderful achievements of industrial science without any full understanding of its methods or of the relative importance and the interaction of the forces engaged. I suggest that to this one-sided experience may be attributed in some measure that disregard of inconvenient facts and that impatience of the limits of practicability which many observers note as a characteristic defect of popular government.

However that may be, there is one symptom in modern politics whose gravity is generally acknowledged, while its special connection with the towns is an easily ascertainable fact; I mean the

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growth of the cruder forms of Socialism. The town artisan or laborer, who sees displayed before him vast masses of property in which he has no share, and contrasts the smallness of his remuneration with the immense results of his labor, is easily attracted to remedies worse than the disease. A fuller and more exact understanding of the means by which the wealth of the community is created and augmented is, for the townsman, the best antidote to mischievous agitation so far as it is not merely the result of poverty. But the countryman, especially the proprietor of a piece of land, however small, is protected from this infection; the atmosphere in which Socialism of the predatory kind can grow up does not exist in a prosperous community. For these reasons I suggest that the orderly and safe progress of democracy demands a strong agricultural population. It is as true now as when Aristotle said it that "where husbandmen and men of small fortune predominate government will be guided by law."

I have now shown that for economic, social, and political reasons the interests of the rural population ought no longer to be subordinated to those of the city population. That such has been the tendency in English-speaking countries will hardly be disputed. In Great Britain the rural exodus has gone on with a vengeance. The last census (1901) showed that seventy-seven per cent of the population was urban and twenty-three per cent rural. A few years ago there were derelict farms within an easy walk of the outskirts of London. In Ireland the rural exodus took the form of emigration, mainly to American cities, and this has been the chief factor in the reduction of the population in sixty years from eight and a quarter to four and a quarter millions. But it may be thought that in the United States no similar tendency is in operation. Here, it may at once be admitted, there is no general rural depopulation. Indeed, the lure of the land has been as powerful as the lure of the city. Nor can there be any serious agricultural depression in a country whose farm lands, as I read in a recent annual report of the Federal Department of Agriculture, increased in value over a period of five years at the astounding rate of $3,400,000 per day. Yet in this veritable land of promise the symptoms of rural decay are to be found by those who look a little below the surface. If ability to get rich quick be the sole test of national efficiency and *morale*, all is well—outwardly—so far. But in the next article, as in this, I propose to discuss the question from a broader point of view, and I fear I shall have to show that the farmer, even in his own material interests, has good reason to take thought for the morrow. I hope, however, that he will find his chief impulse towards a complete reorganization of his industry in the service he will be rendering to the life of the Republic of which he is the most important citizen.

THE PATH

BY A. C. BUNNER

Through deep, dim woods it leads to a retreat
Once trodden clear by oft-returning feet,
Now overgrown with tangled vine and weed,
That prove the wandering feet have paid scant heed
In later years.

Come back! what matter that you will not stay?
The growth of years will never bar the way;
The path is ever open. Oh, my friend,
The old retreat lies at the journey's end,
And other years.

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A REFORMATORY WHICH REFORMS

BY FRANK HUNTER POTTER

"NO! no! I'll go nowhere but to Bedford. Sure, I've been there before, and I know they'll be good to the baby."

The scene was a police court in New York, the speaker a woman with a tiny baby in her arms. She had spent three troubled years at the Bedford Reformatory for Women, most of the time in the disciplinary building, and now, two years later, the kind-hearted Judge wished to send her to a milder place of confinement, a Home for the Friendless, or something of the sort. What manner of place is it that this poor habitual drunkard asked to be sent back to because they would be "good to the baby"?

The Bedford Reformatory for Women is an institution to which magistrates can commit any woman between the ages of fifteen and thirty for practically any crime except murder in the first degree. The majority of the girls are committed for offenses more or less incident to prostitution, such as infanticide, theft, abduction, habitual drunkenness, vagrancy, and the like, which is only natural, for the percentage of "virtuous" girls thus committed is so small as to be negligible. They drink in the effort to enjoy themselves, and they steal when opportunity affords a seemingly easy chance to get something without working for it.

But this is not true of all cases; some have fallen through the weaknesses most natural to their age, such as love of pleasure or love of dress. A State Inspector of Charities who had done much work on the East Side was walking through one of the Reformatory buildings when suddenly an inmate broke from a group of girls, ran up to her, threw her arms about her neck, and, crying, "Oh, Mrs. C——, Mrs. C——!" burst into tears. As soon as the older woman could disengage herself she recognized a former pupil in a kitchen-garden where she had taught. She took her into a room and drew her story from her. The girl had been saleswoman in a big department store on the usual small salary. Her elder sister had married a man who could give her money enough to dress better than the rest of the family, and the younger refused to be outdone. She procured from a friend the signature of a customer of another shop, practiced till she could make a good imitation of it, and then forged an order for ostrich feathers, laces, and other finery, which she presented at the store, and which was duly honored. The girl was caught and sentenced to the Reformatory. When asked why she chose this way of getting what she wanted, instead of the commoner method of a loose life, she replied quite simply that there was less chance of being found out by her friends and family.

Ten or twelve per cent of these girls are totally illiterate, few are much better, many are diseased, some are mentally infirm—practically lunatics and idiots—and very few have a knowledge of any trade or handicraft. The problem before the Reformatory is to turn out the three hundred girls in it, or as large a percentage as possible, decent, self-respecting, self-supporting members of society, within the three years which is the limit of the sentence which can be imposed upon them.

"How do they reform them?" asked a woman eminent in her own branch of female education; "do they break their wills by an iron discipline?" The question implied the usual delusion in regard to criminals—that they are persons of exceptionally strong character who have rebelled against society. In point of fact, they are generally exceptionally weak or exceptionally ignorant, with too little energy or too little knowledge to earn an honest living. Consequently the work of such an institution as Bedford is one of building up, instead of breaking down.

"Would you mind telling me what ladies' college this is?" asked a bandmaster who had been employed at one of the outdoor Shakespeare performances which usually form a feature of Bedford's Fourth of July celebration. Unconsciously he had given a perfect definition of what the Reformatory is—a place for education

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of women in mind and hand and heart; for starting each inmate afresh in life with hope before her, with sympathy and love to help her, and with a training which will enable her to earn an honest living.

Two principles underlie all of the reformatory work at Bedford: grading into classes, with promotion from one to another, and release on parole in case of good behavior as an ultimate reward. This last is possible because the sentence is an indeterminate one, with a maximum of three years, but with the provision that the girl may be released on parole as long before the expiration of that time as the Board of Parole sees fit. When a girl comes to Bedford, she is placed in an intermediate grade in the reception building, from which she can make her way up or down, as she chooses to behave—up into the cottages with their greater privileges and freedom from the reformatory uniform, or down into the disciplinary building, and finally into a cell. It lies with herself ultimately, but everything is done to make her choose the better part. Usually the atmosphere of the place and the general spirit of work, with the firm but kindly discipline, are all that is needed, but once in a while more difficult cases present themselves, and then the methods are varied to suit the individual. Sometimes it is a motive akin to that which induced Tom Sawyer's friends to whitewash his fence for him. There was one girl, a new arrival, on whom no impression could be made. She was not actively rebellious, but she simply "lay down" morally. She would not eat, nor look up, nor answer when she was spoken to. Finally Miss Davis, the superintendent, took her out one day and made her sit down beside a party who were working at a cement sidewalk. The mud-pie nature of the occupation appealed to her, and in a little while she got up and asked to be allowed to join in the work. Now she has been promoted to be head of the cement-working force, and is one of the most efficient people on the place.

Sometimes it is sympathy which works the cure. One night Miss Davis was waked up by the night watch in the disciplinary building, who asked her to go over there at once. There was a girl who would not keep still, and, in spite of handcuffs on her wrists and ankles, was beating on the floor with her heels and screaming so that nobody in the place could sleep. Miss Davis went over, and, as the girl's violence had obliged the attendants to remove all the furniture from the room, sat down beside her on the floor. It had been a hard day and Miss Davis was very tired, and between fatigue and disappointment she put her head on her hands and broke down. The girl looked at her in surprise for a moment, and then asked, brusquely, "What are you crying about?" "I'm crying about you, Mary. I want to help you, and I've done everything I can think of, and nothing seems to be of any use. I'm fairly discouraged." It was probably the first time in all that girl's life that anybody had taken enough interest in her to cry about her, and the effect was electrical. "You take these things off of me and I'll be quiet." Miss Davis took her at her word and removed the handcuffs, and from that day on the girl was her willing slave, though she sometimes gave trouble enough to other officers.

When a girl behaves, she is promoted to a higher grade, and finally to one of the cottages, where she is freed from the uniform which is worn by the lower grades, and with each promotion come more privileges. She may attain the highest distinction short of parole—the Honor Cottage. Admission to this is by election by the girls themselves, and they also have the power of deposition.

Finally, when a girl seems sufficiently improved, she may be released on parole by the Board of Parole, of which the committing magistrate is always a member. A position is found for her, and she and her employer must report to the Reformatory regularly, until the expiration of her three years' sentence, when she becomes free. If she breaks her parole, she is returned to the institution, where she finishes her term.

The educational side of the life is thoroughly modern in that manual training fills so large a part of it. The girls spend the morning in the school-room, where they have teaching of the most intelligent and up-to-date character, and it has to be largely individual, like the training which is given to backward boys by tutors. The afternoons are spent in the laundry, the sewing-room, or the kitchen, where the

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girls learn the trades which are to support them when they are discharged. Every girl has a position found for her when she leaves, and if she returns to her old life it is because she is too lazy to work for an honest living. There are such cases, unfortunately. "How can you expect me to be fool enough to work as a servant?" said one of this class to Miss Davis. "Why, I spend more money in a week than you earn in a month!"

Besides the school work and training in the useful domestic occupations, special instruction is provided for girls who show aptitude for any particular form of work, such as typewriting, stenography, or the care of the sick. Religious instruction is also given by the clergy of the neighborhood, Catholic and Protestant, and every effort is made to awaken the sense of right and wrong. Addresses are frequent and services are held every Sunday.

The first effect of this education, moral, intellectual, and physical, which strikes the visitor to the Reformatory, is the astonishing change in the look of the girls. They show their ignorance in their faces to a degree which would be incredible if one had not seen so many of them together. Recently a visitor, one of a party who had come to give a concert for the girls, noticed the wonderful difference in the expression of those who sat on opposite sides of the room. On the one hand were those in the Reformatory uniform—newcomers for the most part, or those who had not risen from the lowest ranks—with dull, sodden, heavy faces, showing only here and there a ray of interest in what was going on. On the other were those who had won their way into the cottages and out of the uniform, with their faces bright and alert, keen and interested, and intensely appreciative. When the visitor commented on the difference, Miss Davis replied, "Yes, but in two years most of the girls in the uniforms will look like the others."

But while the dullest person could not fail to notice this transformation, the vital question remained unanswered—Does the Reformatory reform?

In some other institutions, when an inmate has passed the period of his parole without again falling into the clutches of the law, he is classified as "reformed," and the percentage of them is easy to estimate. But that is not what Miss Davis means by reformation. She believes that it is a spiritual process, which can be known only by an intimate acquaintance with the girls, and that it can be better estimated by her knowledge of their characters and histories than by the mere fact that they have not broken their parole. She says that, in her judgment, about one-third of them are absolutely reformed, another third improved, and the remainder discharged unimproved. When asked what she meant by "improved," she explained that, while the girls whom she thus classified might make one or two slips, usually sexual, they generally settled down into respectable, hard-working members of society. As an instance, she told of a girl who broke her parole and returned to a life of ill fame. A careful search was made, but no trace of her could be found. About a week later, when they had given up all idea of finding her, she called up the Reformatory on the telephone, told where she was, and asked them to send an officer to bring her back. They had given her new standards at the Reformatory which made her old life unendurable, and she came back there to serve out her term. When that was over, she took a position, and to-day is leading a respectable and useful life.

Of the successes, the stories are so numerous and so interesting that one hardly knows which to choose. One of the most noteworthy was that of a girl who was sent to Bedford for the un-American crime of throwing vitriol. She was of respectable family, and had a perfectly blameless past. A man had paid attention to her, and she had come to love him. "The only man I ever cared for," she said. After a while he ceased to visit her, and she learned that he had transferred his attentions to some one else. Crazy with jealousy—there had been no seduction—she laid in wait for him, threw vitriol in his face, and blinded him for life. After she had been a while at the Reformatory she said to the superintendent: "Miss Davis, this is no punishment to me. I'm getting all the advantages I have longed for all my life. If it were not for the dis-

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grace to my family, I should be perfectly happy." When that girl left Bedford, she sought out the man she had blinded—the other girl had deserted him—married him, and to-day is supporting him in comfort.

A large proportion of broken paroles are on account of drinking, and it has seemed to some critics unwise to send such cases to the Reformatory; they need special treatment. But experience has shown that there is at present no better place to send them, and many cures are effected. One girl of respectable family, who had sunk as low as possible through drink, and had been arrested, implored the magistrate not to send her up for a few days or a few weeks. "Send me somewhere where I can't get anything for a long time," she begged. She was committed to Bedford, and there the busy life of study and labor and the healthy fatigue of work and exercise in the open air gave her the needed strength, and after two years she was paroled. That was five years ago, and to-day she is keeping house for her family, sober and steady as ever.

The conviction that Miss Davis is their best friend never leaves the girls after they go out into the world. Her sister, who is engaged in such work as her own, was lecturing in a Western town, when a young woman came up to her and said: "The best friend I have in the world is named Davis, and she looks like you. Have you any relation living near New York?" "Yes, I have a sister living in upper Westchester County." Then it came out that the girl was a former inmate of the Reformatory, who had cut so loose from her past that in that Western town she had built up a thriving business in a trade which she had learned at Bedford, and had a new life before her with new friends, and with Miss Davis's friendship, which continued to follow her, to strengthen and encourage her.

But what of the third category—those of whom Miss Davis spoke as "unimproved"? A certain percentage of them are apparently irreclaimable, but these seem to be more or less insane. An eminent nerve specialist said that they almost convinced him of the truth of demoniacal possession. These women belong to the class who will ultimately be placed in permanent imprisonment and prevented from perpetuating their breed. Sir Francis Galton says concerning them in his "Memories," "I cannot doubt that our democracy will ultimately refuse consent to that liberty of propagating children which is now allowed to the undesirable classes, but the populace has not yet been taught the true state of things. A democracy cannot endure unless it be composed of able citizens; therefore it must in self-defense withstand the free introduction of degenerate stock."

Of the others of this third category, Miss Davis says that she cannot help believing that they have gotten some good out of the place. The poor woman whose story introduced this article is one such; others are women who on a second arrest have asked to be sent back to the Reformatory, and have done far better than the first time, saying frankly that they regretted their lost opportunities. The saddest cases are of those who seem dragged down by an implacable fate. Such a one was Katherine. When only fifteen, she was sold into a life of prostitution by her own mother. In course of time she was sent to the Reformatory, where she developed an unusual talent for drawing. It was arranged that on the expiration of her parole she should take drawing lessons at one of the New York art schools, and a boarding-place was found for her. She was to meet one of the Bedford officials on her arrival from the town where she had been spending the time of her parole, but she never kept the engagement. A week later Miss Davis received a letter from her saying that she had not been able to take her place under false colors among all those innocent girls, and that in despair she had gone back to the old life; there seemed nothing else for her to do. That was several years ago, but she still corresponds with Miss Davis and keeps in touch with the place. Miss Davis feels obliged to call that one of her failures; but was it?

Various criticisms are made against Bedford. One is that the time is too short to effect reformation in many cases. Miss Davis wholly agrees to this, and has herself urged an indeterminate sentence with a longer limit than that of three years. Then it is objected that the surroundings are too fine; there ought not to be such

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luxurious fittings (porcelain bath-tubs in particular are found fault with), because the girls will be discontented with their old surroundings when they return to them. But this is precisely what the Reformatory aims to accomplish—to make them dissatisfied with their old surroundings and prevent their returning to them, for these have been brothels and dance-houses, thieves' dens and the street; and it is one of the glories of the place that every girl who goes out of it is provided with a situation where she can lead a decent, useful life if she chooses. Sixty-six per cent do so choose, and become happy and useful members of society. They write year after year, they come back to be married there, and bring back their husbands and children to the place and show them the face of "the best friend they have in the world," and, as an old Dutch magistrate said to John Howard, "thank God for their confinement."

Miss Davis has said that in her work it is necessary to be an optimist, but how many churches in this land to-day can boast such results as are achieved by her and her associates at Bedford?

SOCIETY AND THE CRIMINAL

BY EDWARD T. DEVINE

IN so far as there is a difference between the spirit of the law and the spirit of the Gospel, our penal codes breathe uniformly the spirit of the law and not that of the Gospel. A literal interpretation of the Old Testament and not a reading of the spirit of the New Testament is their inspiration.

Let us choose almost at random, not an exceptional bloodthirsty passage, but one which fairly and moderately expresses the penology of ancient Judaism, tempering justice with mercy even as it sternly formulates its conception of justice.

In the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy it is written:

> If there be a controversy between men, and they come unto judgment, that the judges may judge them; then they shall justify the righteous, and condemn the wicked.
>
> And it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number.
>
> Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.

Still more to our purpose are the twelve curses recorded in Deuteronomy xxvii.:

> Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark.
>
> Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way.
>
> Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbor secretly.

And so on, in each case ending with the solemn words, "And all the people shall say, Amen."

Compare our modern New York penal codes, similarly specifying particular offenses in great detail and ending each category of offenses with the formal and significant words, "Shall be guilty of a misdemeanor," or, "Shall be guilty of felony," as the case may be.

The New Testament gives an instance of righteous anger and the prompt administration of a just and appropriate remedy:

> And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves.
>
> And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

This was evidently no formal and constitutional process of law. Legality was no doubt rather with the money-changers and merchants. The spirit of righteousness and justice burst into a consuming flame in the face of which shrewd and technical compliance with statutes was burned away, leaving the thievery and commercial greed in their nakedness and

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impotence. The positive side of the new dispensation finds frequent and clear expression. With hypocrisy and self-aggrandizement Jesus of Nazareth had scant patience.

But with weakness of the flesh, with errors of judgment, with offenses against the law, he and his apostles had infinite patience; and for petty offenders in particular they seem to have had extraordinary compassion. And it is said:

> Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.
>
> Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven.

When the prodigal son came again to his father, he said:

> Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
>
> But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:
>
> And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:
>
> For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.

Other passages may be cited:

> Why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.
>
> Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block or an occasion to fall in his brother's way.
>
> We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.
>
> Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.
>
> If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

We need not interpret these passages to require of us, if we would act in their spirit, that courts of justice, police systems, and penal systems should be abolished, and that we should give unlimited license to those who would assault their neighbors or their neighbors' wives and children, or to the cunning brain that would deprive the neighbor of the fruits of his toil. Tolstoy, it is true, has little difficulty in demonstrating that our present plans work badly, and almost persuades the sympathetic student of his philosophy that a literal acceptance of the injunctions not to judge and to resist not evil would hasten the millennium. The picture which William Morris presents in "News from Nowhere" of the young man who has slain another and is nevertheless at large in society, the object of great pity and kindness from all his fellows, knowing remorse and undergoing a purification of heart, appeals even to our dull imaginations.

We are not under the necessity of going so far, of accepting such extreme views, which break, or appear to break, with the canons of common sense and with the normal and orderly development of our political institutions and which would endanger the peace of society. It is not, however, utopian to demand that we take seriously the elementary problem of the prevention of crime and that we act more consistently upon those clearly defined principles of penology on which practically all serious students of the subject are agreed. We are not dealing seriously or even fairly with this problem.

Let any one who thinks otherwise study the report on the aldermanic courts of Pittsburgh made a year or two ago for the Pittsburgh Survey by members of the bar of Allegheny County, or let him consider the single fact that in New York City the Court of Special Sessions for Manhattan and the Bronx, which tries all misdemeanors—that is, serious offenses less than felonies—was a year and a half behind its calendar until the Legislature by special act drew upon the unoccupied time of city magistrates to form a temporary special part to enable the court to catch up with its business.

Let him attend the various magistrates' courts in the city and discover what an extraordinary diversity of treatment is meted out for the same class of offenses, and how unsuitable many of the dispositions are if the object is to prevent crime, to reform offenders, or even to protect society from the depredations of professional criminals.

We are but playing a huge game, in which the respective parts played by judges, juries, policemen, criminals, and jailers are all well understood. We go through certain motions with perfectly sober faces in accordance with the rules of the game, and we assume that we have done our duty, when, in fact, we have only done

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what was expected of us—expected by the criminals among the rest.

The kernel of the matter is that from time to time we arrest and try certain persons, though we more often fail to arrest them under precisely similar circumstances, charging them, when they do fall into the net, with the commission of specific offenses, and, if we find them guilty, we punish them by fine or imprisonment according to a previously arranged definite schedule—so many days or so many dollars, according to the assumed seriousness of the offense. It would seem to require no extended argument to show the absurdity of the attempt to measure the quality of an offense on the same scale with the size of a fine, regardless of the offender's financial circumstances, or with the length of a term of imprisonment. These things are not comparable, and the false assumption that they are vitiates our penal system.

Charles Dudley Warner many years ago justly said that the world would one day look back with amazement to a time when perfectly well-known professional criminals were arrested and committed repeatedly for short definite terms of imprisonment, and after the expiration of each term allowed, and in effect encouraged, to resume their depredations.

I have myself seen a woman charged in the Night Court with disorderly conduct found guilty and fined, who had been similarly charged and found guilty and fined two hours before in the same court before the same judge. I asked a policeman who stood at my elbow what the effect was of such treatment as that, and he said, with the disgust which even a policeman may feel, that of course its only effect was to drive the woman out again to earn in the same way the money to pay the fine.

We imagine that we have changed this by our partial and limited introduction of a system of indeterminate sentences and the establishment of one or two reformatories; but the change which is necessary is one which cuts much deeper than we have yet gone. What we need is a radically different conception of what fundamentally our courts and police and reformatories are for, what their function is, what they are to do for us.

What we now expect them to do, in a word, is to discover and punish crimes. This also they fail to do oftener than they accomplish it; but even if they were to succeed in this task which we set for them, they would but be delivering the forty stripes before the face of the judges according to the fault of the accused.

What we ought to ask them to do is to prevent the commission of crimes, to check firmly and definitely each individual career of crime at its outset, and isolate definitely and charitably those who are congenitally unfit to be at large in society and those who from deliberate and unalterable choice are at war with the social order. If you say anything like this to any particular official—a police commissioner, for example, or a magistrate—he is likely to respond that this is true enough of society as a whole, but it is his particular business, as laid down in the city charter or as established by precedent, to do such and such things. Here we are considering the matter, not from the point of view of any one official with clearly defined duties, but as citizens of the State, whose duty it is to see the whole duty of the State, and who, collectively, are responsible for determining what the attitude of society shall be.

Prevention, reformation, and permanent custodial care for incorrigibles are the keynote of a civilized system of penology. Vengeance and punishment and all manner of attempts to make the penalty fit the crime are earmarks of an obsolete system. A penitentiary warden once said at the Prison Congress: "These men—the prisoners—are sent here to be punished, and it is our business to see to it that we punish them as much as possible." And another still more crisply remarked that the end of punishment is to punish.

An accomplished assistant district attorney in New York County insists that a desire for vengeance underlies the greater number of prosecutions now undertaken in our courts. Propositions to reintroduce the whipping-post, pulpit apologies for atrocious lynchings, and the general acquiescence in police clubbings of unoffending citizens and in the administration of the wholly unlawful and mediæval "third degree" as a means of extorting confessions sufficiently attest the survival of utterly uncivilized and unchristian ideals among us.

The new penology has not yet been

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fully formulated, but its spirit is at one with Christianity in its refusal to judge, in its mercy, in its unlimited forgiveness, in its readiness to bear the infirmities of the weak, and in its scorn of hypocrisy and deceit, which are all too prevalent in the relations now existing between law-breakers and law-enforcers. There are already many fragmentary indications of what the new penology will be like. John Howard and the sentimental reformers may not have understood it clearly, but the abuses which they scourged were certainly at war with it, and the humanity for which they stood is one of its foundation stones. Lombroso and his associates in a more scientific scheme of criminology may be one-sided and eccentric, but it is their merit that they have at least conceived the problem seriously and are ready to take the consequences of their radical theories. And the underlying thought of their system, that it is the individual whom we are to consider, and that in order to consider him we need the help of the physician and the psychologist as well as that of the lawyer and jurist, that the specific offense which is charged is of significance only as it throws light on the relation of the offender to society and on the attitude which society should take towards him—this is another foundation stone which the builders of to-day may reject, but which may yet become the head of the corner.

Brockway and the zealous advocates of the reformatory system may not have carried their principles fully into successful execution, and the claims that have been made as to the percentage of reformations accomplished may prove to be exaggerated, but the idea is sound and practicable, and the genuinely indeterminate sentence, with its corollaries of education, strict discipline, active and appropriate occupation, and conditional release under surveillance are the prophecy of a rational system.

Probation for first offenders may indeed for a time become the farce that we in New York City have for the most part made of it. Let any citizen who thinks this strong language ask the Commissioners of Accounts for a copy of their report on the Night Court, or read the stenographic reports of the testimony given by magistrates and probationers before the legislative commission now investigating the courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction. Probation, however, taken seriously, as a positive influence over the conduct of probationers, as a few men and women here and elsewhere have illustrated its possibilities, is another fundamental feature of a rational and serious penology.

And so there emerge gradually the outlines of a logical, consistent, sympathetic attitude of society towards the individual offender, a just, humane, and Christian attitude, implying no wish to judge him, but a wish to restrain him from injurious and destructive conduct, and to confirm him in a law-abiding and useful life.

At one end of such a penal system as this attitude requires we find an infinite variety of educational and constructive social measures, designed to cultivate right principles of action. We find schools and clubs and social activities consciously at work to turn the surplus energy of youth into fruitful and beneficent channels. We find, instead of police system, criminal courts, and prisons, each working independently, more or less at loggerheads with the others, a great municipal department for the prevention and elimination of crime, with a social police and magistrate and probation officer and reformatory and hospital or colony for the permanent detention of incorrigible offenders, each taking an assigned place in a co-ordinated, carefully devised system for dealing effectively and comprehensively with the problem of crime.

The change which we need is not in details. These will come inevitably as a result of our change of heart. With less than our present expenditure of money we could eventually prevent the vast majority of the crimes committed among us. We are not now trying to do that. We are painfully maintaining a *modus vivendi* by which some criminals, sometimes, are caught and punished, and by which young offenders are by our own act put under conditions which virtually insure their becoming hardened professional criminals. Thus we both judge one another unchristianly and uncharitably and put a stumbling-block and an occasion to fall in our brothers' way.

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THE TAXATION OF PRIVILEGE

BY C. B. FILLEBROWN

THERE are certain settled principles of taxation upon which any scientific system must be erected and which should be made to stand out in bold relief.

The first is that "ground rent is a social product," a fact which is no new discovery. Professor J. B. Clark, of Columbia University, said more than a score of years ago: "As the creator, not of the substance of the earth, but of the value residing in it, the State has a producer's immediate right to use and dispose of its product."

The second is that a "tax upon the rental value of land cannot be added to the actual rent paid by the tenant or user." Professor Seligman long ago expressed the accepted economic opinion when he said: "The incidence of the ground tax is on the landlord. He has no means of shifting it; for, if the tax were to be suddenly abolished, he would, nevertheless, be able to extort the same rent, since the ground rent is fixed solely by the demand of the occupiers. . . . The point is so universally accepted as to require no further discussion."

The third is that "the selling value of land is an untaxed value." This was clearly set forth by Professor Bastable, of conservative Dublin University, when he said: "As land is sought for revenue, what lowers its revenue lowers its selling price, and therefore a land tax falls altogether on the possessor at the time of its imposition. Subsequent acquirers take the land subject to the burden, and pay a lower price in consequence."

Turning from these three scientific principles of taxation, let us look for a moment to see if they bear any relation to the distribution of wealth—the question of the unemployed, the problem of the slums. Space permits no more than a broad hint at the *modus operandi* of a tax system by which temporal salvation may be wrought equally for the high and for the lowly. Cure for the slums of poverty lies in less work and more pay. Cure for the slums of riches lies in more work and less pay.

It is in a general and vital way true that the wealth of the world, as created year by year, is distributed practically in two channels, the channel of privilege and the channel of wages. Material redemption can come only through the abolition of privilege by a wise system of taxation, thus eventually turning into the channel of wages the enormous stream that now flows to privilege. There is no other way known, or to be known, among men to right a wrong but to correct it. As President E. B. Andrews has put it, happily and mildly, "To turn the golden stream of economic rent partly or mostly into the State's treasury, where it would relieve the public of taxation in burdensome forms, seems to be extraordinarily desirable."

The private appropriation of ground rent, in the maintenance of which all taxes are absorbed, accompanied as it is by exemption from taxation, is a privilege greater by far than all others put together. Because their land tax is an old, and hence burdenless, tax, and because the tax on their buildings is shifted upon their tenants, most landlords who own and let both the land and the tenement houses and business blocks thereon avoid all share in the tax burden. From these considerations springs the suggestion for the gradual abolition of that particular privilege by the progressively increasing taxation of land. From such a source might be expected a betterment which would be equivalent to at least a fifty per cent increase of wages, which to the man who has to support a family of five on one to three dollars a day would be a very substantial help.

When individuals live by themselves, they have individual needs. When a lot of people live together, they have, besides individual needs, common needs, which have to be supplied by common effort or at common expense. One of the earliest and most urgent common needs to arise in a new settlement is that of a town pump. Three hundred years ago the water system of New York probably consisted of a town pump, installed and maintained at trifling expense. Upon completion, ten years

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hence, of the Ashokan system, projected and already begun, this new town pump will stand on the city's books at, say, three hundred million dollars. New Yorkers are to-day paying in the form of water rates taxes to the extent of twelve million dollars a year. No doubt the land of New York is easily worth to-day three hundred million dollars more than it would be without such a water system. Other public improvements and services, such as streets, sewers, police and fire protection, have developed on a similarly vast scale, and each in turn has contributed to the value of the land. Let it not escape our attention that it is the water supply, together with all other public services provided by the outlay of taxes, that, to a large extent, gives to the land of New York and every urban community its value. Hence it is upon the broad inanimate shoulders of the land that it is now proposed that the whole burden of taxation shall ultimately rest.

But, attendant upon and keeping pace, as it were, with this growth of the town pump, another wonderful phenomenon has been noted. The original natural land value of New York, which may have been fairly registered in its purchase price of $24, has now swollen to no less than four billions. There appears to be, furthermore, an intimate relation between the two not unlike that of cause and effect. This great value is the measure of the economic and social advantage accruing to the land of New York on account of the presence and activity of four million people and their facilities for commerce with the world. If Adrian Block had in 1614 opened a department store at the Battery, and conveyed his customers by stage from Albany and by boat from Hoboken and Brownsville, his business expenses would have eaten him up. The advantage that John Wanamaker enjoys over Adrian Block is that half the State of New York is set down at his store doors in the morning and taken away at night free of expense to John Wanamaker—an advantage the value of which is included and paid for in the ground rent which John Wanamaker pays for the use of the site on which his store stands.

The workers of New York, who are the users of this four billion dollars' worth of land, pay for its use in the form of ground rent to its owners, besides what they pay for the use of buildings, probably not less than two hundred and fifty millions a year. Of this gross amount, only sixty millions, or less than twenty-five per cent, is now returned to the municipality through the medium of taxation, while one hundred and ninety millions (not far from $240 per family) finds its way into private pockets as a "privileged" income.

By the simple "last will and testament" of the owner of Randall Farm, the rental value of sixteen acres of New York City—bounded by Astor Place, Broadway, Washington Place, University Place, Waverly Place, Fifth Avenue, Tenth Street, and Fourth Avenue (now amounting to $1,250,000 a year)—is "forever" diverted to a surfeited Sailors' Snug Harbor. This endowment was made, not in the exercise of any asserted natural right, but in the exercise of a privilege granted by law in derogation of the rights of four million people of New York, successors to Robert Richard Randall, who do the work, and to whom belong the business and commerce, of the New York of to-day. Is it unnatural to ask, Should not the living have at least equal rights with the dead? The disabilities of laborers in this land which boasts of equal opportunities for all men seem to be already great enough without laying taxes upon them in order that 100,000 landowners may enjoy this public income—$250,000,000—together with practical immunity from taxation thereon. Out of this gigantic Ashokan reservoir of rent, fed by the people's taxes, the Single-Taxer would draw, not a part—sixty million—as now, but one hundred and fifty million, the whole of New York's public expenses.

The advantage of privilege over wages finds acute illustration in this glorious country of ours, teeming as it is with millionaires. To illustrate: If a second Methuselah had lived and begun Anno Domini 1309 to work for wages at five dollars a day, he could have earned in the six hundred years until now but a scanty million of dollars.

Had Adam begun life similarly, and held out till the present time, he could have earned in his six thousand years of work less than ten million dollars.

The actual inequality of conditions calls

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for a yet more adequate illustration. The average annual savings of three-fourths of the laborers of the United States have been estimated as low as $15 per capita. If we suppose it to be three times this amount, or, say, $50, then a five per cent income on a single million would be equivalent to the savings of 1,000 laborers. A similar income on a Carnegie's four hundred millions would be equivalent to the savings of 400,000 laborers, and a five per cent income on a Rockefeller's thousand millions would be equivalent to the savings of 1,000,000 laborers. What wonder that there should be persistent want and privation somewhere? What better remedy can there be than immediately to check, and gradually to remove, so far as practicable, the prime cause, viz., privilege, the opportunity of one man to profit at another man's expense?

It is not difficult to find one among the many ways in which such a reformation might be wrought. It would not be wide of the mark to say that, as, for instance, in Boston, an average of twenty per cent of gross ground rent is now taken in taxation. In order to raise present city revenues all from the land it would be necessary to take in taxation only thirty per cent more of the ground rent than is now taken, or fifty per cent in all; and the following, as one among many possible simple recipes, has been suggested for compassing this transformation from wrong to right. The change needs not to come about all at once, but, touching as it does the very vitals of society, it can and should at once begin to come. It could be worked out comfortably in the period of one generation, few landowners meantime suspecting the change, much less being wronged by it. This is the recipe:

Take in taxation an additional one per cent of gross ground rent each year for thirty years. This would amount at the end of that period to thirty per cent, which, added to the twenty per cent already taken, would make fifty per cent, or one-half, which is about the average proportion that the present city taxes bear to total ground rent.

THE NEW BOOKS

The biography as a literary form, and in its vast number of examples, has received thorough treatment at the hands of Mrs. Anna Robeson Burr in her book "The Autobiography." Very few works of this class rest on so solid a foundation of critical knowledge of a large field of literature; for Mrs. Burr has familiarized herself with more than eight hundred biographies and autobiographies in five languages, and out of this number she has chosen more than two hundred and fifty as typical and representative, and through an extended analysis of these she endeavors to discover the significant and characteristic elements of this form of writing. She enumerates sixty-six autobiographers who wrote as a matter of self-analysis and self-expression; many others have written for pleasure or to preserve the impressions of the past; a small group have recorded religious experiences; others have turned their experiences to account as furnishing guides to practical living. Mrs. Burr opens up many very interesting lines of investigation, and throws abundant light not only on her subject but on other kinds of writing. Her book is a many-sided contribution to the most thorough kind of literary analysis, and has the great advantage of being practically the first-comer in the field and of dealing with living tissue throughout. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.)

When one proceeds to make a list of the men of influence who have died young, the list lengthens portentously. Of course among the names to be included in such a list is Sir Philip Sidney's. He died in 1586. His was an influence not only great in his own day, but permeating all succeeding history. It has affected English history and it has affected world history. Whether as a contributor to literature—its prose and poetry—or as soldier and statesman, Sidney seems equally eminent. In his dual rôle he effectively interpreted the ideas and ideals of the Englishman of his own day, and indeed of the Englishman of all time. Mr. Percy Addleshaw, in a just published volume, discriminatingly distinguishes between the Sidney of legend and the Sidney of fact. This constitutes an important feature of a book whose every chapter, while not very vivacious in style, is worth attention by the student of English history and literature. The Sidney of legend is natural, for Sir Philip's career was short and the facts concerning it are surprisingly scant and unsatis-

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factory. The Sidney of legend has been handed down from generation to generation as the model on whom every school-boy should arrange his own actions. It may not be easy to suggest a nobler ideal. Yet, claims Mr. Addleshaw, the ideal is legend rather than reality. He declares that Sidney had grave faults, in especial bigotry, and proceeds to show that, when Sidney discussed religious matters, he was violent and not logical; indeed, that he was not more temperate or philosophical than were his neighbors. But, when all is said, despite his bigotry, Sir Philip Sidney was, in contrast with most of the men of his time, a notably attractive figure. Though the present biography lets him down somewhat from his hitherto very high pedestal, it only makes him seem the more human. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50.)

The eighteenth century—century of the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution—provides the subject matter of the sixth volume of the "Cambridge Modern History." But of these three outstanding features of the century the American Revolution and the French Revolution are treated in other volumes, as is that portion of the Seven Years' War which is of especial interest to American readers. Still, there is plenty of material left for the historian, as this portly volume testifies, a volume brimful of information, presented with all the fullness of detail and philosophic insight for which the "Cambridge Modern History" has already won warm praise. Naturally, the greatest emphasis is on the history of England and France, the two Powers which dominated the international situation throughout the eighteenth century, their internal affairs, their foreign relations, and their colonial policies affording abundant material for discussion. As to the colonial policy of England, the author of this section of the volume, Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, candidly admits that "when any dispute between the interests of colony and mother country came up for public settlement, it was not the latter who suffered." Recent American historians have been contending that one of the greatest grievances of the continental American colonies was the unjust discrimination of England in favor of the sugar colonies of the West Indies, and Mr. Temperley clearly holds this view. But he also believes that the sugar colonies were far from fairly treated, and that the whole colonial policy, economic and political, was calculated to create the crisis that ultimately cost England her American colonies. On the biographical side the leading personages of the volume are, of course, Pitt and Frederick the Great. It is interesting to find that the editors have turned to a German, Dr. Wolfgang Michael, for their study of Pitt, and that Dr. Michael's portrait of the great empire-builder is far more favorable, and fairer, than that recently drawn by another eminent German scholar, Dr. von Ruville. The greatness of Frederick, his marvelous services to Prussia, and his position as the "champion of enlightenment" are given ample recognition by Dr. Emil Daniels, whose chapter on "Frederick the Great and His Successor" is one of the best in the volume. Another particularly praiseworthy piece of work is Mr. A. L. Smith's study of English political philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with its careful analysis of the theories of Hobbes, Milton, Locke, etc. As usual, there is a copious and workable bibliography. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.)

Two highly valuable works of reference now advancing toward completion—the Catholic Encyclopædia (Robert Appleton Company, New York, $6 per vol.) and the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge (Protestant) (Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, $5 per vol.)—the former in its sixth volume, the latter in its fifth, invite comparison. The Catholic work, in bond to papal authority, maintains an evenness and self-consistency not found in the Protestant. How hopelessly modernist critics are thrown out of court appears, *e. g.*, in the article on Ecclesiastes, the traditional ascription of which to Solomon it stands for against the consensus of non-Catholic scholars, which dates it about six hundred years later. The language of Ecclesiastes is colored with Aramaic, which did not become vernacular in Palestine till near the Christian era. 2 Kings xviii. 26 states that the people did not understand it, though the nobles did. But the Solomonic authorship is argued for by a series of possibilities, thus: "Solomon would assume a somewhat Aramaic speech, if reason or inclination moved him. The Aramaic coloring of his language then served as a means to introduce him to Aramaic readers, who in their turn understood Hebrew sufficiently." Free from such bonds to authority, the Protestant work wabbles. On one hand, a German professor stands for the historicity of the astounding miracles related of Elijah and Elisha, the former of whom is said to have destroyed with fire from heaven two successive companies of fifty sent to seize him. On the other hand, an American Churchman, in a masterly article on the Gospels, concedes that "the vital interpretation of the Christian consciousness has fused itself in various degrees with the facts and words reported." But wabbling is an inevitable concomitant of freedom in an age of transition in which advance is made on lines more ragged than straight. Beside such differences these works exhibit large accord. A case of this in ethics is especially undesirable; first, in its inadequate conception of the moral life as consisting simply in the practice of virtue. In the Scriptures it is presented rather as consisting in the filial imitation of God—that is, as a life of aspiration and effort toward divine ideals. But Catholic and Protestant concur in the com-

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monly held static conception of it, rather than in the Biblical and dynamic conception. Each also seems to distinguish untenably between Christian ethics and normative ethics. But ethics is the science not merely of the good, but of the best, for, as Wundt says, "the moral ideal belongs to the realm of the infinite." A minor slip in ethics is made by the Protestant writer in affirming that "casuistics [treating of concrete individual cases of difficulty] is opposed to evangelical principles"—a statement contradicted by many evangelical treatises on casuistry. Much graver is the ethical slip of the Catholic writer, who vindicates betting from the stigma of gambling, and goes on to say: "On certain conditions, and apart from excess or scandal, it is not sinful to stake money on the issue of a game of chance, any more than it is to insure one's property against risk." Under "Gambling, or gaming," it is said that "theologians commonly require four conditions so that gaming may not be illicit. [1] What is staked must belong to the gambler," etc. The article is on a regrettably lower moral level than that of Protestant writers.

To his subjects of many races and creeds no sovereign seems more indispensable than the venerable and revered Francis Joseph. Again, of all rulers of Europe, he is indisputably the most august. These convictions will doubtless be only emphasized by the appearance of Sir Horace Rumbold's "Francis Joseph and His Times." Sir Horace was long British Ambassador at Vienna. His book includes not only an extremely interesting biography, but also an illuminative account of the principal episodes of one of the most dramatically constructive epochs in the annals of Austria-Hungary. Popular interest will probably center in the discussion of a very recent episode, the incorporation by Austria-Hungary of the occupied provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sir Horace says that in both cases the changes thereby accomplished had long been foregone conclusions, but that actual accomplishment had been chiefly retarded by the delicate question of determining to which of the two Crowns, that of Austria or of Hungary, the provinces should be held to belong. "A temporary connection of Bosnia with Hungary in the fourteenth century, shortly before the Turkish conquest, gave some color to the pretensions put forward at Budapest. It could not for a moment be supposed that the provinces would ever be evacuated and returned to their nominal sovereign, in defiance of the universally received axiom that not an inch of ground once freed from Ottoman rule should again be subjected to it. To all intents and purposes, a thirty years' work of civilization and good government had transformed them into Austrian territory. Certain definite powers were, nevertheless, absolutely needed to cope with the very troublesome Pan-Servian intrigues and progaganda from over the border; nor could the liberal institutions with which it was intended to endow the Bosniaks and Herzegovinians emanate from any but a fully sovereign authority." While this is all undoubtedly true, we heartily agree with the author that it would have been better had the Vienna Cabinet's decision been preceded by an adequate exchange of views with all the co-signatories of the Treaty of Berlin. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $4.)

An important tract of the history of education, hitherto dimly lighted, is the post-classical Greek system in the higher schools during the first five centuries of our era. Dr. Walden's book on "The Universities of Ancient Greece," *i. e.*, of the lands where Greek was the prevailing language, redeems this from neglect and undervaluation. Its aim was identical with that of the founders of Yale, who proposed to train men for service in Church and State; men of broad learning and general culture, trained to see the distinctions of right and wrong, and to act accordingly in the service of their native city. This training was literary and humanistic. By it were fitted for their vocations the judge, the senator, the magistrate, the advocate, the professor of philosophy and rhetoric. These professors—called "sophists," *i. e.*, teachers of wisdom—were, when at the zenith of their fame, objects of popular admiration exceeding that now bestowed on famous singers. Their appointment, their work, their salaries, their competitions, their students, are exhibited here in interesting detail. The volume, enriched by copious notes for professional readers, is valuable for all who are interested in cultural studies. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The first history with which we are familiar, either in Italian or English, of the Medici family as a whole, has just been published. Colonel C. F. Young's "The Medici" is a well-printed work in two volumes. It has merit, first of all, as the history of a family. It would be surprising if, in writing the history of the Medici, historians were not tempted to discuss at great length the careers of two or three of its members. That Colonel Young has kept the parts appropriately subordinate to the whole is of much advantage to the student of history, whose general view is thus not obscured—the general view of a family which for three hundred and fifty years was particularly prominent in European history in general and Florentine in particular. Of course the historian traces the family back as far as the year 1201, when Chiarissimo, oldest son of Giambuono de' Medici, was a member of the town council of Florence. After reading Colonel Young's account of how the succeeding centuries dealt with the Medici and comparing this account with that of other historians—both those who wrote when the Medici were in power and hence were swayed by violent partisanship, and those who have written since, yet who seem to

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have been hardly less partisan—we are left with a somewhat different idea of the family and the motives of its members from what we have hitherto had. While the author makes no claim to original research, save as regards the later stages of Medici history, his work is sufficiently dispassionate and discriminating to deserve to be brought to the attention of students. But the merit of these volumes transcends their biographical worth. They instruct us concerning one of the most important periods in European history. In particular they furnish information concerning the rebirth of literature and art. In his survey of the rebirth, however, Colonel Young gives, as do many other critics, too much credit to the Renaissance age and too little to the Gothic. Of course one may say that the Gothic was the precursor of the Renaissance. But the two ages are distinct. The Gothic age of civilization was inaugurated in the twelfth century by the discovery in Italy of the code of the Roman law. The Renaissance, properly speaking, did not arrive before the middle of the fifteenth century. Meanwhile, in the thirteenth came Niccolò Pisano, who died in 1278, the father of modern sculpture. In the fourteenth century came Dante, who died in 1321. He recreated intellectual life in Europe. Giotto came too; he died in 1337: he was the father of modern painting. And Petrarch came; he died in 1374; he was the father of modern learning. But our critic inaptly dubs these "the four fathers of the Renaissance." They occupied the same position to the Renaissance that the Greeks did to the literature and art of Rome. But this may seem hypercriticism. In any event, the student of literature and art may find much of the suggestive in Colonel Young's volumes. They deserve to stand on the shelf alongside such books as Napier's "Florentine History," Villari's "Storia di Firenze" and his "Savonarola" and "Machiavelli," Sismondi's "Républiques Italiennes," Scaife's "Florentine Life during the Renaissance," Mrs. Oliphant's "Makers of Florence," Armstrong's "Lorenzo de' Medici," and Count Pasolini's "Catarina Sforza." (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $8.)

We know little about "Bosnia and Herzegovina," provinces long under Austrian administration, and now annexed to the Austrian Empire. Fortunately, Mrs. Holbach—who has already instructed us concerning Dalmatia—has just published an excellent book of travel in the newly annexed provinces, and Mr. Holbach has doubled the text's value by accompanying it with nearly fifty illustrations from his exquisite photographs. These artistic pictures transform our notion of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian landscape. Most of us have pictured it as being like the neighboring Karst—that bare and barren Adriatic mountain region. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian mountains are often bald enough, it is true, but who could fancy anything more charming than the valleys between, and anything more picturesque than the various towns with their slender minarets? Delightful as is the illustration revealing this, we hope, nevertheless, for the sake of an increasing number of tourists, to see a new edition of the book in an even more portable form—something handy for the traveler's pocket. With such information as this volume contains, there may be a great rush of travel Bosniawards; for the tourist, sportsman, and student there is indeed far more of interest and occupation in these provinces than has hitherto been supposed. The present volume is, of course, a book of travel and nothing else. When a new edition is published, the text might well be enlarged by a chapter or two on economics and politics. Yet even in this book we find occasional parentheses concerning the result of Austrian rule. Mrs. Holbach concludes that it has brought peace and prosperity to a land which little more than a generation ago was given up to bloodshed and sedition. The Turkish Government was quite unable to repress robbery and clear the country of agitators who incited the people to crime. In our opinion, the manner of the annexation to Austria was certainly a violation of the Treaty of Berlin. But, apart from this, the people of the provinces cannot fail to benefit by having a settled government. Mrs. Holbach found that the majority of the population, especially the townspeople, welcomed the new era, and adds:

> It is greatly to the credit of the Austrian administration of Bosnia that so much State aid has been given to fostering the native industries; probably no other country has done so much in this direction. Hotels have even been erected by the Government to assist the tourist traffic. The great State tobacco factory at Sarajevo is one of the sights of the capital, and the typically Oriental industries of carpet-weaving and inlaying with gold and silver are taught in State schools, which for a long time were not even self-supporting. In Herzegovina there are Government vineyards where the peasants can learn the best methods of vine-culture and wine-making, and in both countries model farms, supported by the State, to give object-lessons in up-to-date agriculture, under which heading tobacco-growing is included.

The Government's broad, tolerant attitude is specially reflected in matters of religion. Mohammedans form nearly half of the population of the provinces; Christians form the other half, and this half is divided between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. The breadth of view now obtaining is shown, for instance, at Travnik, where "the students at the Jesuit college are not limited to those of the Roman Catholic faith, and I was told that there are many Jews among them. The higher education of the Turks is provided for in the Medresse, a very charming building with its own mosque attached, erected by the Austrian Government. This is not the only instance I have come across of mosques being built or restored at the cost of the State in Bosnia." (John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

ENFORCE THE MINING LAWS

The recent disaster at the Cherry Mine cannot fail to bring to mind the lax enforcement of mining laws. Here, in Ohio, we have a code of laws regulating the coal mines sufficiently long and minute to secure tolerable protection to the miners were they strictly enforced.

In a recent trip through the Hocking Valley, which is one of the largest coal-producing districts of the State, I saw many instances of this failure to comply with the laws. For example, it is provided that the electric wires placed against the mine roof for the purpose of affording power to the motor cars must be at least six inches to one side of the track rail—that is, in such a position that if a pebble is let fall from the wire, it will strike at least six inches beyond the rail. In going through one of the largest mines I found, at different places, the wires immediately above the rail. On account of the lowness of the roofs of most mines, this makes an exceedingly dangerous situation, for if one happens to step upon a rail and at the same time touch the live wire, it is almost certain death. In this way many horses are killed.

Again, the law prohibits the use of mineral oil, because of the fumes which arise from it when burning; yet nearly all the miners freely employ kerosene in their lamps, and nothing is thought of it. Although no great disasters have occurred in this district, such as the recent one at Cherry, Illinois, or the one at Avondale, Pennsylvania, many years ago, yet deaths by electrocution, etc., are frequent, and oftentimes due to non-fulfillment of the statutes. Greater care must be exercised in the execution of the law in this State, or chance is sure to bring disaster upon us.

EARL A. SALIERS.

Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING IN AFRICA

I have been much interested in reading Dr. Rainsford's articles on the evangelization of Africa, and in many points agree with him, but feel that in several respects he has not been sufficiently well informed. Consequently he, as well as other readers of The Outlook, will be glad to know that the lack of industrial training, which he deplores, is being supplied by the work of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission, which is being carried on under the direction of Mr. Willis R. Hotchkiss. This mission, which is 516 miles inland from Mombasa, the coast port and terminus of the Uganda Railway, was founded by Mr. Hotchkiss in 1895. He has carried on work there for a number of years, going as a pioneer to several different tribes whose languages were unwritten and even unknown. He is laboring among them with great success, and when he came to America in 1902 he had prepared a grammar and vocabulary which were printed. The mission has two large stations, of a thousand acres and seven enteen hundred acres, respectively. The former is only four miles from Lumbwa Station, on the Uganda Railway; the latter is sixteen miles distant. His aim is to train the natives in field work, for they are in a starving condition. They will not cultivate sufficient land to provide for their necessities, consequently large numbers are employed and fed by the mission. To quote from Mr. Hotchkiss: "In 1905 we thus took care of from two hundred to five hundred a day for five months. That wise rule of the Apostle Paul, 'If any man will not work, neither shall he eat,' we have enforced to the letter. We put them to work in the fields and in making roads. This gave us a great opportunity for the preaching of the Gospel, which we made the most of in daily services." The British Government officials are now co-operating with the mission and placing in its care the sons of the native chiefs, who are committed for a four years' course.

I wish that all your readers might have the inspiration of hearing the Director of this mission, Mr. Hotchkiss, tell of his work, for all who hear him must feel awakened interest in the African natives. Any further information in regard to the noble and self-sacrificing work of this splendid missionary and his helpers will, I am sure, be gladly given by the International Union Mission, 541 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

K. E. W.

Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN LITERARY IMAGINATION

The awarding of the Nobel prize in literature to Selma Lagerlöf, the Swedish novelist, naturally leads one to ask what she has written. Unfortunately, her books have not generally been translated into English as yet, so not many of them are available for the gratification of our laudable curiosity. However, the reading of one of the few that have been done into English makes a powerful impression upon one, first, because Selma Lagerlöf is so different from any writer we know. To me there came also an impression of lack in our American writers which I never cognized before. It is the lack of literary imagination.

The American imagination is powerful, it is lively and quick, but so far it has run to commercialism. There it has been developed till it is triumphant over all the earth. With the imagination our people see and grasp giant opportunities in the industrial and commercial world. They plan and conduct to successful ending material enterprises that are the wonder of the world. But when, as writers, painters, musical composers, we native Americans would shake the wings of our imagination and soar aloft among the gods, our unpracticed pinions only flutter feebly and lamely, and our feet do not leave the ground.

The American writer is many a time per-

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fect in the use of English. He is terse, witty, incisive, brilliant, emotional even, and logical as the best. But his inner eyes are not unfolded to see the poetic imagery and symbolism that ever hover about and throw a radiance over the commonest lives and events. Not yet is his intuition still and deep enough to feel the links that bind all nature to man and man to nature, making them as one whole. Living in our dry, matter-of-fact, though most marvelous and admirable American world of industry, we catch not yet in the open book of the great Creative Imagination the hidden meanings to be read only by the silent, contemplative soul. Theosophists have it that the imagining faculty created this universe. At any rate, considered rightly, the imagination is the most real of all the mental powers bestowed on man.

Of living English writers perhaps Kipling has developed most this power of seeing by means of the imagination the myriad forms, links, and colors all about us, yet unseen ever by the matter-of-fact eye. But no English author to-day, probably no author in any other language, has this fascinating power of "seeing things" equally with Selma Lagerlöf. On her, tender and deep-seeing, the Creative Imagination has bestowed the precious gift of seeing the unseen and fixing it in prismatic colors and forms of beauty that the rest of the world, even the dull-eyed and the hurried, may behold. This woman magician finds beauty and feeling in a stone.

A study of Selma Lagerlöf's writings would effectually cultivate our American literary imagination. It is a pity that so few of her books are translated. A uniform English edition of them might well be laid before the American public at this time. Especially to be recommended to aspiring young writers is the nature book the Swedish Government commissioned her to prepare as a supplementary reading-book for school-children. ELIZA A. CONNER.

New York City.

A NEW CRUSADE

I wish you would preach a sermon to your women readers on the subject of "Big Hats in Church." I understand that in California women put off their hats in church just as they do in the theater. Why should New York be so far behind? Why should women in church wear hats which are a constant aggravation to those behind them, any more than women at the theater or at the opera? Are not people who go to church expected to have consideration for other people?

I sat this morning, in a New York church, behind an enormous hat which almost entirely hid the minister. It was a splendid sermon which he preached, but to absorb it as completely as possible I should like to have seen his face. I tried to do so, but as soon as I succeeded in getting a glimpse of him the big hat would turn and the minister was again eclipsed, and so it continued throughout the service.

Is this right? I believe that if women realized the annoyance and loss and injustice done by their big hats, they would remove them altogether or else wear such headgear as would not completely obliterate the view of their neighbors. W. H. P.

New York City.

A CORRECTION

We have received a letter from Miss Alice Stone Blackwell correcting an error in a book review of Dr. Buckley's volume on Woman Suffrage, in which review it is stated that suffrage "was defeated in Wyoming." For Wyoming substitute Washington. The facts respecting suffrage in that State are thus stated in Larned's "History for Ready Reference:" "In Washington Territory the law which conferred it in 1883 was declared invalid by the courts in 1887, because its nature had not been properly described in the title, was re-enacted immediately afterwards, and was in 1888 again declared invalid by the United States Territorial Court, on the ground that the Act of Congress organizing the Territorial Legislature did not empower it to extend the suffrage to women. In enacting their State Constitution (1889) the people of Washington pronounced against female suffrage by a majority of two to one; and a good authority declared to me that most of the women were well pleased to lose the privilege." It is interesting to note that in the only States in which the question of woman suffrage has been submitted to women—Massachusetts and Washington—it has been defeated. In Massachusetts, where some years ago a vote of the women of the State was taken on the question, less than five per cent of the women voted that they wished for the suffrage (although a majority of those who voted at all voted for it), and in Washington, when the question of woman suffrage was submitted to a mixed vote, in which women voted, woman suffrage was defeated.—THE EDITORS.

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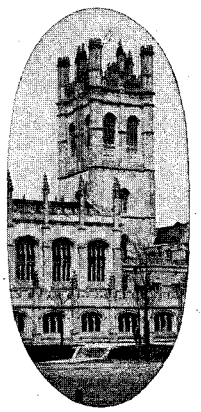

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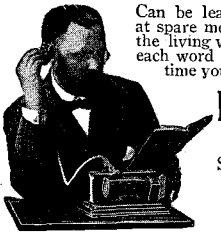

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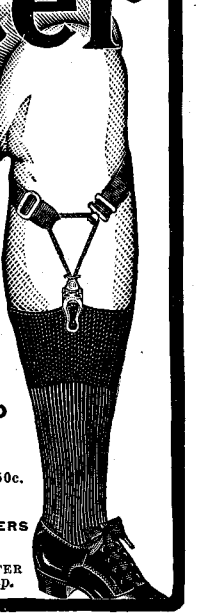

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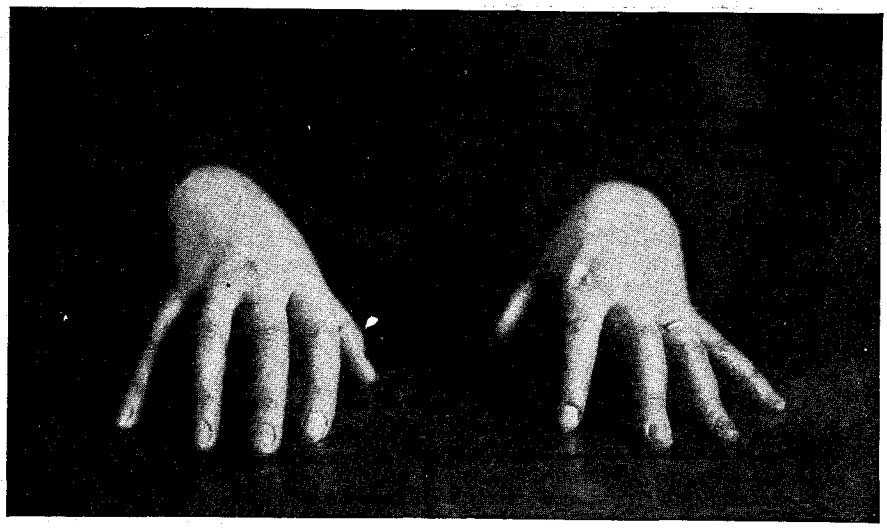

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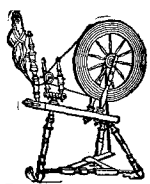

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